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**The Date of the Ruthwell
and Bewcastle Crosses**

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*Fig. 1. Ruthwell Cross, between 1823 and 1887.
(From Browne, Theodore and Wilfrith.)*

INTRODUCTION

I. THE PROBLEM OF THE CROSSES

The problem respecting the date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses is none of the easiest to solve; the only hope of a solution lies in a close and critical examination of every circumstance which might conceivably be of assistance, beginning with the appearance and characteristics of the monuments themselves.

Let us first consider in what respects the two crosses resemble each other. Each has the general form of an obelisk.¹ Each, if it ever had a cross-piece, has lost it now.² The two, if the Ruthwell Cross be considered without its unauthorized cross-piece, are not very far from the same height (14½ feet : 17½ feet), and taper to somewhat the same degree. Each has a vine, with animal figures among its branches, covering one or more faces of the monument—two in the case of the Ruthwell Cross, and one in the case of the Bewcastle Cross. Both have sculptured human figures, the Ruthwell Cross on two faces, the Bewcastle Cross on one; moreover, two of the figure-subjects on one of the crosses are identical with two on the other. Both have runic inscriptions, those on the Ruthwell Cross occupying the borders of the faces which are ornamented with vines, and presenting fragments of an Old English poem, *The Dream of the Rood*, and those on the Bewcastle Cross being found, mostly in an illegible condition, on three faces—that which contains the figure-sculpture, and two adjacent sides—but not on that which is filled with the ornamental vine. Each is found in the domain of a church, the Ruthwell Cross within its walls, the Bewcastle Cross just outside. Each suffered violence in the Reformation period—the Ruthwell Cross certainly, and the Bewcastle Cross not improbably—besides such defacement as they may have undergone in other ages. Both are situated within the Border, using that term in a rather large sense to denote the frontier where modern Scotland approaches England, or England approaches Scotland, and where both countries have naturally had an influence. Within this Border various races have, within historic times, as well as in the very dawn of authentic history, dwelt, and struggled, and ravaged, often in the wildest and most savage manner. Both crosses are, and always have been,

¹ See p. 122, note 1, and Figs. 1 and 2.

² See p. 123, note.

in a comparatively infertile region,¹ remote from centres of population, on nearly the same parallel of latitude (Ruthwell, 54° 59' 40"; Bewcastle², 55° 4'), and certainly within 30 miles of each other.

It is especially to be noted that modern writers are practically unanimous in assuming that they belong to the same period and school. Postulating this, we have only one problem to solve in our attempt to date the two crosses.

If they are not the work of the same artist, they are certainly of the same school.³

Ruthwell and Bewcastle are of the same school. . . . Their resemblances give them a place together far above other high crosses in our district or around it.⁴

To the same period the Ruthwell cross must be assigned, for there cannot be the least doubt that they are the product of the same workshop, even if they did not come from the hands of the same artist.⁵

At Ruthwell, some five and twenty miles distant, is a cross of such similar make and sculpture, that it must be similarly dated.⁶

II. OPINIONS AS TO THE DATE OF THE CROSSES

Earlier students were inclined to consider both the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses as Danish, and therefore to assign them to a comparatively late period.⁷

¹ See p. 148.

² Long, 2040, W. Some maps give the name of the village as Shopford.

³ J. R. Allen, *Monumental History of the Early British Church*, p. 208. Similarly Rivoira, *Burlington Magazine*, April, 1912, p. 24.

⁴ Collingwood, *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses, Shrines and Monuments in the Present Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 43.

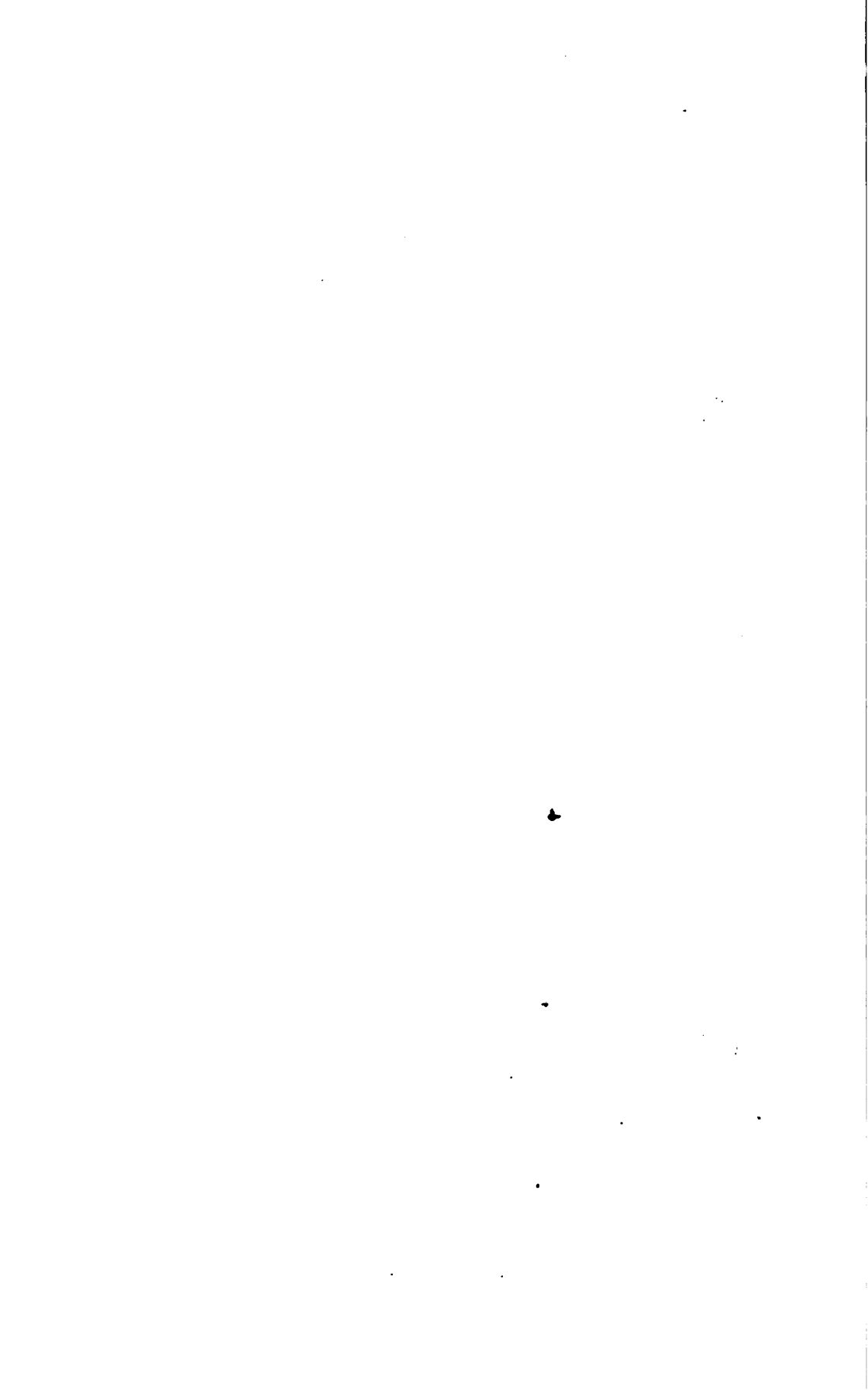
⁵ Greenwell, *Catalogue of the Sculptured and Inscribed Stones of the Cathedral Library, Durham*, p. 46.

⁶ Prior and Gardner, 'Mediæval Figure-Sculpture in England,' *Architectural Review*, July, 1902, p. 7.

⁷ Thus of the Ruthwell Cross Nicolson says in 1697 (see my 'Notes on the Ruthwell Cross,' *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 370): 'The former [the Latin inscriptions] are exactly in the same character with these Gospels [a Latin MS. referred to]: which (I confess) I judged to be later than the tenth century.' Hickeys, on p. 5 of the Icelandic Grammar published in 1703 as Part III of his *Thesaurus*, speaks of a motive for publishing the first plates of the runic inscriptions at Ruthwell to be that he might



Fig. 2. Bewcastle Cross, West Face.



In 1840, J. M. Kemble¹ held the view that the dialect of the poetic fragments on the Ruthwell Cross was 'that of Northumberland in the seventh, eighth, and even ninth centuries.'

From the year 1856 opinion entered on a new phase, and the conjectures of two or three men led to an assignment of the crosses to the 7th century; but in later years dissent from this view has been constantly growing. Chronologically arranged, the chief expressions of opinion have been as follows.

1856. Daniel H. Haigh's version of the principal inscription on the Bewcastle Cross was presented by Dr. Charlton at the January meeting of the Society of Antiquarians of Newcastle-on-Tyne.² Haigh believed the Bewcastle Cross was erected in memory of Alcfrith, and that it was to be assigned to about 665 A. D.³ Because of the resemblance of the Ruthwell to the Bewcastle Cross, he postulated for the former a date in the same century, and was thus led to attribute the fragments of *The Dream of the Rood* on the Ruthwell Cross to Cædmon.⁴

1857. John Maughan read the word Alcfrid on the Bewcastle Cross,⁵ and therefore referred the cross to about 670.⁶

1861. Daniel H. Haigh⁷ thought that the Ruthwell Cross might 'possibly have been brought from Bewcastle, and once have stood

show that runes were employed by the Norsemen after their conversion to Christianity (*runas apud Septentrionales gentes, post receptam ab iis Christianam religionem, in usu aliquandiu fuisse*). In 1726 Gordon (*Itinerarium Septentrionale*, pp. 159, 160) quotes with approval Nicolson's opinion that our runic inscriptions are Danish (cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, 1890, 5. 62). Chalmers, in 1824, says (referring to Pennant's *Tour* 3. 85-6): 'It cannot be older, if so old, as the ninth century, though tradition is silent about the time and the cause of its erection' (*ibid.*); elsewhere he says (2. 467) that it 'may possibly have been erected by some of the followers of Halfden the Dane [ca. 875].'

With reference to the Bewcastle Cross, Bishop Nicolson, in his famous letter to Obadiah Walker (1685), thought it a work of the Danes; and in 1742 George Smith (*Gent. Mag.* for 1742, p. 369), said: 'None believe the Obelisk to be older than 900.' He also thought it Danish.

¹ *Archæologia* 28. 357.

² Maughan, *Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle*, London, 1857, p. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴ See my edition of *The Dream of the Rood*, pp. xi, xii; and cf. p. 41, below.

⁵ See p. 41, below.

⁶ *Memoir*, p. 27.

⁷ *The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons*, p. 37.

at the other end of Alcfrid's grave.' He added¹: 'That they [the two crosses] belong to the seventh century cannot be doubted; they contain forms of the language which are evidently earlier than Bede's Death Song and Cædmon's Hymn.'

1865. Franz Dietrich, believing that *The Dream of the Rood* was written by Cynewulf, and that near the close of it (133 ff.) he had particularly in mind, among the friends whom he had lost, King Ceolwulf of Northumbria, who died in 764,² assigned the Ruthwell Cross to a period soon after this,³ but before 794, when the Danes devastated Northumbria, and destroyed the peaceful conditions necessary for the cultivation of the arts.⁴ Incidentally, he speaks of two crosses at Bewcastle, which he refers to the same time⁵: 'In oppido Bewcastle duæ cruces partim adhuc superstites sunt, quæ propter runas quibus præditæ sunt, ad idem tempus referendæ esse videntur.'

1866. George Stephens accepted Haigh's view with regard to the authorship of the poetic fragments on the Ruthwell Cross, and further announced that he had discovered the name of Cædmon on the cross itself.⁶ He believed the date could be fixed 'at about 680.'

Of the Bewcastle Cross Stephens said⁷: 'The man who slept beneath it was ALCFRITH. . . . ALCFRITH was a pious and brave prince, and is famous in history as the friend of St. Wilfrid. The year of his death is not ascertained. But as he is not mentioned among the victims of the Great Plague in 664, which carried off so many of his countrymen, he probably died in 665 or 666. As the tomb-stone was not finisht till the first year of ECGFRITH, his successor, its date is about 670.'

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

² *Disputatio de Cruce Ruthwellensi*, p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶ Stephens, *The Ruthwell Cross*, pp. 9, 17-18: *Old-Northern Runic Monuments* 1. 411, 419-20. On the former page he said: 'By the help of the Casts since taken by Mr. Haigh, and of the Vercelli Codex, I have not only been enabled to amend the text and add some words to the carving, but I have also found the name of the Immortal Bard—CÆDMON.' See also my edition of *The Dream of the Rood*, pp. xii-xiv, and pp. 12 (1895), 15, note 3, below. Stephens called the period when this monument was raised 'the seventh century or thereabouts.' He read on the top-stone in runes: CADMON MÆFAUCEƿO, which he interpreted: 'Cadmon me fawed (made).'

⁷ *Old-Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 400.

1873. James A. H. Murray¹ wrote : ' Eadwin was succeeded by Oswald and Oswiu, during whose reign the Angle power was still further extended in what is now the south of Scotland, their supremacy being apparently recognized by the Cumbrian Britons. Witnesses to this extension of the Northumbrian area, at or shortly after this period, exist in the Cross of Bewcastle, in Cumberland, with a Runic inscription commemorating Alchfrid, son of Oswiu, who was associated with his father in the government about 660, and the Runic Cross at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, of the same high antiquity.'

1874. Frederik Hammerich² attributed the Ruthwell Cross to the end of the 7th century, following Stephens. His grounds were the style of the monument, the forms of the letters, and the antiquity of the language—besides the inscription read by Stephens on the top-stone.

1876. Henry Sweet³ referred to the Ruthwell Cross inscription as being 'in the old Northumbrian dialect of the seventh or eighth century.'

1879. Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell⁴ read the runes on the top-stone of the Ruthwell Cross as : KSDMAMAFA⁵UOO. They give the date in one place⁶ as ca. 700, and in another⁷ as ca. 800.

1880. Sophus Müller⁸ declared that the Ruthwell Cross must be posterior to 800, on account of its decorative features, and indeed that it could scarcely have been sculptured much before 1000 A. D.

1884. George F. Browne⁹ remarked : ' The head of the cross bears the words, " Cædmon made me." The Bewcastle inscription states that the pillar was erected to King Alchfrith, in the first year of King Ecgfrith, about A. D. 665. On the bands dividing the panels are names of near relatives of these kings. Alchfrith was the patron of Wilfrith. The runes are unquestionably Anglian runes, and some Anglo-Saxon scholars say that the grammatical peculiarities are

¹ *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 9.

² *Älteste Christliche Epik der Angelsachsen, Deutschen und Nordländer*, p. 34. The Danish original appeared in the previous year.

³ *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 169.

⁴ *Icelandic Prose Reader*, p. 444.

⁵ Or Æ.

⁶ P. 444.

⁷ P. 451.

⁸ 'Dyreornamentiken i Norden,' *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1880, pp. 338-9.

⁹ *Magazine of Art* 8. 79 (December, 1884).

early. Thus everything points to the time of Wilfrith as the time when these crosses were first designed.'

1885. Henry Sweet¹ printed the inscriptions on both crosses as given by Stephens, assigning the latter's conjectural date of 670 (Maughan's) to the 'Bewcastle Column,' and of 680 to the Ruthwell Cross. He adds under the latter: 'All that the language teaches us is that the inscription cannot well be later than the middle of the eighth century.'

1887. John Romilly Allen² considered that 'the evidence as to the age of the sculptured stones of Northumbria [referring to Stephens' dates] is rather unreliable.' In the same work³ he called the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries 'the period of the sculptured crosses.'

1887. George F. Black⁴ wrote: 'While in the south of Scotland recently, I visited Ruthwell to see its famous cross. . . . The name Cædmon has all but disappeared, being represented only by five faint perpendicular strokes. The other words, "mæ fæuþo," are quite distinct, with the exception of the last o in fæuþo.'

1887. Margaret Stokes⁵ assigned the two crosses to the 11th century, (1) because of their relation to the Irish high crosses, which are late; (2) because 'as eleventh century monuments these crosses . . . would fall naturally into their place in the development of the arts of sculpture and design during this period, while as seventh century monuments they are abnormal and exceptional'; (3) because the vine reminds us of Lombardic sculpture; (4) because the figure-subjects are such as are discussed in the Byzantine *Painters' Guide*, compiled 'from the works of Panselinos, a painter of the eleventh century'; (5) because 'it is not likely that such symbols were subjects of the sculptor's art in the North of England, in the seventh century, or that their execution would be more perfect there than the carving of similar subjects in Ravenna or in Milan at the same date.'

1888. Henry Bradley⁶ accepted the dating of the Bewcastle Cross by Maughan, thought that 'to maintain that this inscription is a forgery of the eleventh century would be preposterous,' and argued that 'the close resemblance in the style of art' between this and the Ruthwell Cross is 'inconsistent with the theory that they are several

¹ *Oldest English Texts*, pp. 124-5.

² *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 85.

³ P. 132.

⁴ *Academy* 32. 225 (Oct. 1).

⁵ *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, pp. 125-6.

⁶ *Academy* 33. 279 (April 21).

centuries apart in date.' He also maintained that the dialect of the poetic fragments on the Ruthwell Cross is 'considerably earlier than that of the gloss on the Lindisfarne Gospels'; he was therefore in favor of assigning it 'to the eighth century at latest.'

1889. Sophus Bugge¹ repudiated Stephens' rendering, *Cædmon made me*, of words which he professed to have found on the Ruthwell Cross, and proposed to read: GODMON MÆFAE/OÆÞO. He agreed with Sweet regarding the date of the cross, however, and rejected Müller's late date of ca. 1000.

1889. John Romilly Allen² said: 'The claim of the crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle to be of the seventh century must, we think, be abandoned.' Referring to the attempts of Haigh and Stephens to identify names on the crosses with those of persons known to history, he remarked³ that they generally either fail to do this, 'or there is some doubt as to the reading of the names in the inscription which renders the identification valueless.' As to Cædmon he said (p. 210): 'All trace of the name has disappeared, and it is exceedingly doubtful if it ever existed.'

1890. I⁴ contended that the language of the poetic fragments on the Ruthwell Cross must be as late as the 10th century, and very likely posterior to 950.

1890. George F. Browne⁵ read on the Ruthwell Cross: † KEDMON MÆ FAUƆEÞO.

1891. Eduard Sievers⁶ believed the inscription on the Bewcastle Cross, if correctly reported by Stephens and Sweet, to be late, and therefore a bungling copy of an earlier original.

1891. William S. Calverley⁷ virtually accepted Stephens' date of 670 for the Bewcastle Cross.

¹ German translation by Brenner, under the title, *Studien über die Entstehung der Nordischen Götter- und Heldensagen* 3. 494 ff.; the passage in question was translated by me in *Mod. Lang. Notes* 5 (1890). 77-8.

² *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 159.

³ P. 223: cf. p. 209.

⁴ *Academy* 37. 153 (March 1).

⁵ *Academy* 37. 170 (March 8); cf. his *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 239.

⁶ *Anglia* 13. 12, note, written in January, 1890 (see p. 31, below). This opinion he reaffirmed in 1901 (Paul, *Grundriss der Germ. Phil.*, 2d ed., 1. 256). Sievers (1901) will not allow any Anglian runes, with the exception of a single one on a coin, to be earlier than the 8th century.

⁷ *Early Sculptured Crosses*, p. 40; cf. p. ix.

1892. Stopford A. Brooke¹ said : ' The [Ruthwell] Cross, so far as its make goes, might have been set up during the seventh, eighth, or the beginning of the ninth century ; and as to the Runes—th re were runes carved on stones after the Norman Conquest.'

1892. Joseph Anderson² dated the monuments of his Class II between 800 and 1000, and remarked that those of his Class III, to which the Ruthwell Cross belongs, ' were only displaced by the European style of grave-slab introduced with Gothic architecture in the twelfth century.'

1895. Wilhelm Viëtor³ could read on the top-stone of the Ruthwell Cross only : (R ?) D(D ?) Æþ(:) (MÆ ?) (F)AYRþO, out of which nothing can be made. The cross is earlier than 750.⁴ For his readings of the principal inscription on the Bewcastle Cross,⁵ see p. 37, below. As to the date, he said : ' Sprachlich steht nichts im Wege, in der sicheren Cyniburg und dem wahrscheinlichen Alcfrithu die Tochter Pendas von Merzien und ihren Gemahl, den Sohn Oswius von Northumbrien, zu sehen.'

1896. George F. Browne⁶ wrote of the Bewcastle Cross : ' It was set up in the year 670.'

1897. George F. Browne⁷ was confident that the Ruthwell Cross was erected before the death of King Egfrith in 685.

1898. Stopford A. Brooke⁸ declared : ' The [Ruthwell] cross dates from the first half of the eighth century, and the lines, which from their situation and language belong to the north, are believed to be of the latter end of the seventh. . . . Criticism of the language and manner of the lines tends to make the authorship of Cædmon more and more probable.'

1899. William Greenwell⁹ believed the sculptors of the two crosses to have come from Italy, ' towards the close of the seventh century.'

1899. William G. Collingwood¹⁰ attached much weight to the views of Bishop Browne (see under 1896), and accordingly accepted the date 670.¹¹ He added : ' The date of the Bewcastle Cross does

¹ *Hist. Early Eng. Lit.*, p. 337.

² *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, 1903, pp. cix, cxiii.

³ *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁵ P. 16.

⁶ *Conversion of the Heptarchy*, 2d ed., 1906, pp. 189, 208.

⁷ *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 236.

⁸ *Eng. Lit. from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest*, p. 133.

⁹ *Catalogue*, p. 47; see p. 78, below.

¹⁰ *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 44.

¹¹ P. 47.

not depend on its legend. The style and workmanship are surer proofs of its origin.' Referring to both crosses, he observed¹: 'How unlike this work is to 12th century carving can be seen at once by comparing the sketch of a floral scroll opposite with Bridekirk Font.'

1901. I² resumed and extended my investigation of 1890, and came to the same general result as then.

1901. William G. Collingwood³ observed of the Bewcastle Cross: 'It can . . . be classed with many other works done in the flush of the great renaissance of the late seventh century, in which Benedict Biscop and St. Wilfrith were leaders, and king Alchfrith and his wife Cyniburg, and her sister and brother Cyneswitha and king Wulfhere of Mercia (all named on this cross) were chief patrons. It is not of the Hexham school, but of a school of that age and character, from which came many fine works quite alien in spirit to the art of North England in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and impossible to have been executed in that period of storm and stress, when the churches were ravaged by the Danes; and it is equally impossible to class it as Norman. The archæological evidence is all in favour of the date assigned to it by the inscription—the first year of king Ecgrith, 670–71 A. D.; and it has a great importance in the history of art as the starting-point from which not only all our Cumbrian sculpture was derived, but (with Ruthwell cross, its younger sister) the model for much of that so-called Hiberno-Saxon art which has been confused with it.'

1902. Edward S. Prior and Arthur Gardner,⁴ following Maughan, considered the Bewcastle Cross as 'well dated to the year 670.' They added: 'At Ruthwell . . . is a cross of such similar make and sculpture, that it must be similarly dated.'

1902. Henry Rousseau⁵ assigned the Ruthwell Cross to the 9th century, when Northumbria was occupied by the Danes. As to Cædmon, he regarded the name, supposing it to be on the cross, as that of the sculptor.⁶

1902. Karl D. Bülbring⁷ declared that of early Anglian poetry we possess, for the most part, only late and corrupt copies. Among

¹ P. 43.

² 'Notes on the Ruthwell Cross' (written December, 1900), pp. 375–390; cf. pp. 32–33, below.

³ *The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland* 1. 256–7.

⁴ 'Mediæval Figure-Sculpture in England,' *Architectural Review* 12. 7.

⁵ 'La Ruthwell Cross,' *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 16. 70.

⁶ P. 67.

⁷ *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, pp. 8–9.

the earliest Northumbrian verses (before 740) he reckons those on the Ruthwell Cross, which he considers to exhibit peculiarities of the northern variety of Northumbrian.

1903. John Romilly Allen¹ quoted, 'without dissent, the conclusions of my paper of 1901.

1905. Alois Brandl² said of the Ruthwell Cross : ' There is of late a tendency to relegate the stone to a much later period—to the ninth or even the tenth century. Archæologists conclude this from its ornamentation, and Prof. Cook has shown that the archaic inflexions, on which so much stress was laid in fixing the age of the Cross, also occur sporadically in Northumbrian manuscripts of the late tenth century. As a matter of fact, this particular dialect did retain for an astonishing length of time a whole series of sounds and inflexions which the others had long since abandoned. The patent objection, however, is : Could such a mass of archaisms have got compressed into such narrow compass ? Only sixteen lines, some of them mutilated, are preserved on the Ruthwell Cross, and they show a consistent³ early Northumbrian dialect. At the very least a particularly ancient stock of written forms must have lain at bottom.'

1905. Camille Enlart⁴ characterized the human figures, knot-work, vines, and animals of the Bewcastle Cross as of a good style of the middle of the 12th century (but see under 1906), and added that the Ruthwell Cross presents a series of interesting bas-reliefs of the same period.

1906. Camille Enlart⁵ inclined to attribute the Ruthwell Cross to the 12th century, on account of its high reliefs and its inscriptions. Of the Bewcastle Cross, on the other hand, he said⁶ : ' It bears a runic inscription which attributes it formally to the first year of the reign of Eadfrith, that is, to 670, and the inscription has all the characteristics of the period ' (but see under 1905).

1907. G. T. Rivoira⁷ said that the Ruthwell Cross ' cannot be dated earlier than the first half of the XIIth century.'

¹ *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 515-6.

² *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* for 1905², pp. 716-23. Our quotation is from the translation and revision of this paper, entitled ' On the Early Northumbrian Poem, " A Vision of the Cross of Christ," ' in *Scottish Historical Review* 9. 140 (January, 1912).

³ But see Cook, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 380 ff.

⁴ Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* 1². 521.

⁵ *Ibid.* 2. 202.

⁶ *Ibid.* 2. 199.

⁷ *Le Origini dell'Architettura Lombarda*, translated in 1910 as *Lombardic Architecture* (2. 143).

1907. Anna C. Paues¹ spoke of 'the Ruthwell Cross in Dumfriesshire, possibly dating back to the eighth century, . . . and the Bewcastle Column in Cumberland, probably erected to the memory of Alchfrith, son of the Northumbrian king Oswy (642—670).'

1907. (Miss) M. Bentinck Smith² declared that the supposed words at the top of the Ruthwell Cross, if decipherable, could not refer to the poet Cædmon, 'for the language of the poem on the Ruthwell cross is younger than that of the MS. poem, possibly of the tenth century. The decoration of the cross, also, is thought to be too elaborate and ornate for eighth century work, and can hardly be dated much earlier than the tenth century.'

1910. Henry Bradley³ made the following statement: 'Cynewulf's authorship has been asserted by some scholars for *The Dream of the Rood*. . . . But an extract from this poem is carved on the Ruthwell Cross; and, notwithstanding the arguments of Prof. A. S. Cook, the language of the inscription seems too early for Cynewulf's date.'

1911. Walter W. Skeat⁴ wrote: 'There is another relic of Old Northumbrian, apparently belonging to the middle of the eighth century. . . . I refer to the famous Ruthwell cross. . . . There is also extant a considerable number of very brief inscriptions, such as that on a column at Bewcastle, in Cumberland.'

1912. William P. Ker remarked⁵: 'The Ruthwell Cross with the runic inscription on it is thus one of the oldest poetical manuscripts in English, not to speak of its importance in other ways.'

1912. G. T. Rivoira⁶ said: 'The age of the Bewcastle Cross, if I am not mistaken, is not earlier than about the first half of the twelfth century. And the same is true of the other well-known cross at Ruthwell.'

1912. W. R. Lethaby⁷ undertook to vindicate the earlier date of the Ruthwell Cross from the strictures of Rivoira. His arguments are: (1) The forms of the letters indicate 'a semi-Irish hand, such as was in

¹ *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.* 1. 12.

² *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.* 1. 57, note.

³ *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 7. 691. Elsewhere (4. 935) he is more positive: 'The poem is certainly Northumbrian, and earlier than the date of Cynewulf.' He rejects Stephens' *Cædmon mæ fawæpo* as 'mere jargon, not belonging to any known or unknown Old English dialect.'

⁴ *English Dialects*, pp. 18, 20.

⁵ *English Literature: Mediæval*, p. 48.

⁶ *Burlington Magazine*, April 15, p. 24.

⁷ *Burlington Magazine*, June 15, pp. 145-6.

use in Northumbria about the year 700'; (2) *The Dream of the Rood* was early; (3) there were tall crosses in England in the 7th century (referring to the life of Willibald, p. 112, below); (4) 'the sculptures of these crosses are of "Early Christian" or Byzantine character': thus the Paul and Anthony and Christ treading on the wild animals, while the Crucifixion resembles one in an early manuscript at St. Gall; (5) the interlacings probably derive from Coptic sources. Incidentally, Mr. Lethaby believes that the top-stone of the Ruthwell Cross should be turned round, so that the archer would be shooting at the single bird.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CROSSES

I. THE RUTHWELL CROSS

Various descriptions of the Ruthwell Cross are already in print,¹ but none is entirely accurate. The following account, while it no doubt leaves something to be desired, is based upon personal examination and a series of photographs made directly from the shaft itself (ignoring the top-stone).²

*South Face.*³

1. *The Archer.*

An archer faces the spectator's right, with an arrow aimed upward at an angle of 45°. A possible quiver hangs at the right side of the archer; only the tip is visible. There is an inscription at each side, but the letters are illegible.

2. *The Visitation.*

Mary and Elizabeth face each other, so far as the main position of the bodies is concerned, but the figure at the left seems to have her face slightly turned toward the spectator's, while that at his right is seen in profile. The new stone, introduced to fill the space caused by the fracture, seems too thick, so that it suggests legs much too long for the rest of the bodies. The shoes resemble sabots. The figure on the left has her forearm extended at right angles to the upper arm, with hand touching the other figure near the waist,

¹ See a list given by Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 448.

² My thanks are due to Rev. J. L. Dinwiddie, minister of Ruthwell, who afforded me every facility for securing these photographs, which were taken by Mr. F. W. Tassell of Carlisle.

³ As the monument stands at present. See Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.



Fig. 3. Ruthwell Cross, South and West Faces.



Fig. 4. Ruthwell Cross, South Face, top.



Fig. 5. Ruthwell Cross, South Face, Visitation.

while the figure at the right has her forearm nearly parallel to the other's, and above it. It is difficult to determine whether the drapery for the head may not be hair (cf. the Visitation from St. Benoît-sur-Loire, as figured by Caumont, *L'Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 176). There is an inscription above and at each side, but illegible. A single border on this side corresponds to the lower of the double borders on the north side, though narrower.

An oblong piece of new stone, extending for part of the width of the panel, replaces a portion broken out at some time, from the waist of the figures to below the middle of the lower leg.

3. *The Anointing of Christ's Feet* (Luke 7. 37, 38).

The figure of Christ in the act of benediction faces the spectator, with upraised right hand, palm outward, and one (or possibly two) fingers extended. The left hand, which is covered by the drapery, holds a large book (not roll). The circular nimbus, with three rays at each side and above, has a diameter more than twice as great as that of the head including the hair, which falls to the shoulders. Christ is bearded, and wears a tunic, which leaves the upper part of the breast bare, and falls in straight heavy folds nearly to the ankle, leaving the feet, so far as they are visible, apparently bare. His mantle leaves the right forearm bare, and falls at his right side nearly to the head of the woman and the bottom of his tunic, and is gathered up in heavy folds by his left hand to support the book, falling at his left not quite so low as at his right. The woman who was a sinner is seen in profile. Her hair falls on her right shoulder, and is extended to cover the extremity of the Saviour's left foot, being held in position by her right hand—the right forearm, which is bare, being nearly parallel to the coil of hair. Her fingers are about one-third the length of the whole hand and forearm. The hair seems to extend beyond her hand, and to be recurved to the left and downward for a distance about equal to that from her shoulder to the foot. Another strand of hair, faintly seen, falls directly downward, on the further (inner) side of her face. The inscription above, in Roman capitals, is

ATTULIT . . . BA

which is continued down at the spectator's right as

STRUMVNGVENTI&STANSRETROSECUSPEDES;

then crosses to the spectator's left, and reads downward:

EIVSLACRIMIS . COEPITRIGAREPEDESEIVS . CAPILLIS
and ends below as:

CAPITISSVITERGEBĀ;

that is: *attulit . [ala] bastrum unguenti: et stans retro secus pedes eius lacrimis cœpit rigare pedes eius, et capillis capitis sui tergebat.*

4. *Christ's Healing of the Blind Man* (John 9. 1 ff.).

Christ at the left, distinguishable by his rayed nimbus, this time of two rays each, instead of three, faces a man dressed like himself in tunic and mantle. Christ is bearded, and is turned slightly towards the spectator, while the man is in nearly full profile. The hair of both falls to the shoulders. The right hand of the Saviour is extended toward the man, and seems to hold a small rod, the end of which is near the man's chin (this apparent rod, however, may perhaps represent Christ's forearm, broken off save for this trace); Christ's left hand is passed in front of himself, and touches the drapery which falls from his right forearm. The inscription reads downward at the spectator's left, as:

ET . PRAETERIENS . VIDI [here mutilated]; then downwards at the spectator's right, ANATIBITATEETSA [mutilation] BINFI [these doubtful] RMITATE [the last four are only possible].

This may stand for: *et præteriens vidit hominem cæcum] a nativitate, et salvavit eum a]b infirmitate.*

5. *The Annunciation, or (Angelic) Salutation.*

The angel, who wears the plain nimbus, and is winged to the height of his shoulders, is facing outward, slightly in the direction of the Virgin. A ringlet falls behind his right shoulder. His right arm, which is bent at the elbow at less than a right angle, seems to be bare, and his two hands appear to be clasped. The advancement of his left foot and the fall of his drapery indicate motion toward Mary, as she, in turn, seems to be advancing toward him. She also wears the plain nimbus. Her hair falls over her shoulders, one tress falling over her right shoulder as a ringlet. She faces the angel, but turns somewhat toward the spectator. Her head is slightly inclined toward the angel.

The inscription begins above:

INGRESSVS

That at the right is so mutilated as to be illegible, but at the left we read:

TE . . . BE . . .

This stands, no doubt, for: *Ingressus angelus ad eam dixit: Ave, gratia plena, dominus tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus.*



Fig. 6. Ruthwell Cross, South Face, Anointing of Christ's Feet,
and Healing of the Blind Man.



Fig. 7. Ruthwell Cross, South Face, Annunciation.



Fig. 8. Ruthwell Cross, South Face, Crucifixion.

6. The Crucifixion.

This is much defaced, but the following points are clear. The cross is of Latin form, with the upright fairly broad, but the cross-beam narrower. The head of Christ inclines toward his right. His left shoulder, with part of the upper arm, is visible and bare. His legs are bare from above the knee downward, and the feet are manifestly nailed side by side. Whether he wears the nimbus or not it is impossible to determine. A large circular object above the arm of the cross at the spectator's right may be intended for the moon, which is sometimes found in representations of the Crucifixion after the 9th century; and there is a faint indication of a corresponding object over the other arm. At the spectator's right and below, there appears to be something like a crouching, naked figure; and below the cross-beam, on either side, there may be traces of two smaller crosses, as if of the two thieves. These last, however, are quite conjectural.

West Face.¹

A vine-scroll starts in the middle of the base, and curves alternately to right and left, touching the right border four times, the left one three times. Above each contact it throws off a branch which curves in the opposite direction to the course of the vine. On each of these branches rests a bird or animal facing alternately right and left, first bird, then beast, then two birds and two beasts. The creature at the bottom, a bird, as well as the two top creatures, has its tail lengthened and recurved on itself, to simulate another offshoot. Each branch ends in a bunch of fruit, which the corresponding animal devours. Both the main vine and its branches freely throw off small shoots ending in leaves or bunches of fruit. The border contains the runes which begin above with *Christ was on*, and continue down the right edge, another set beginning on the left edge.²

The lower monolith supports two pieces of new hewn stone, which

¹ See Figs. 3, 9, 10, 11.

² The runes may be found:

1) Transliterated in horizontal lines: Zupitza-MacLean, *Old and Middle English Reader*, pp. 2-3; my article, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 381-2 (from the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek*); my edition of *The Dream of the Rood*, pp. 3-5;

2) Printed in horizontal lines, and afterwards transliterated: Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie* 2. 111-6;

3) Printed in vertical lines, as on the cross, and transliterated: Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 446-7;

form the bottom of the upper monolith. The remaining portion of the carving consists of the top of the new vine, which appears first in contact at the left, curves to contact at the right, and finally, recurving on itself, makes a spiral which contains an animal. After the first contact it throws off a branch which contains a bird. Both of the monoliths grow narrower at the top. There are runes on the upper stone, also, but illegible.

North Face.¹

1. Subject doubtful.

Two defaced figures, with hair reaching to the shoulders, stand side by side, and face outward. They are visible only to the waist, or a little lower. There is no inscription legible.

2. John the Baptist with the Agnus Dei.

The man wears a nimbus, is bearded, and is of venerable aspect. His hair reaches to his shoulders. He stands with each foot resting on a ball-shaped stone, and is clothed in a talaric tunic and mantle. The heavy drapery of the latter falls from the right arm, of which the outline is not clear. The left hand and arm, apparently wrapped in the mantle, support the figure of a lamb wearing a nimbus. The right fore leg of the lamb is raised, the left fore and hind legs are worn away. The lamb is facing the man's right, its nimbus nearly touching his chin. Its hind quarters touch the right border. The panel is broken in two, and rejoined with plaster. It is possible that several inches of carving are missing at the joint. The right-hand border of the lower half of the broken panel is composed of two pieces of new hewn stone cemented together. There are traces of an inscription on the border of the upper half. That on the lower half, reading down the left side, is:

(A ?)DÐRAMVS.

The letters on the lower border are illegible.

4) Transliterated in vertical lines, with comments on the legibility of the individual runes, and accompanied by reproductions of photographs: Viator, *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, pp. 6 ff.

Older and less critical readings may be found in the *Archæologia Scotica*, Vol. 4, 1833 (by Duncan), and, reposing upon this, in *Archæologia*, Vol. 28 (Kemble's article); then in Stephens' *Runic Monuments*, Vol. 2, the reprint from it, entitled *The Ruthwell Cross*, and the reproduction of his plate in Hammerich's *Ælteste Christliche Epik*; etc.

For the history of opinion concerning the runes on the cross, reference may be made to Wülker, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Litteratur*, pp. 134-8; Viator (as above), pp. 2-4.

¹ See Figs. 12, 13, 13 a, 14.



Fig. 9. Ruthwell Cross, West Face, near top.



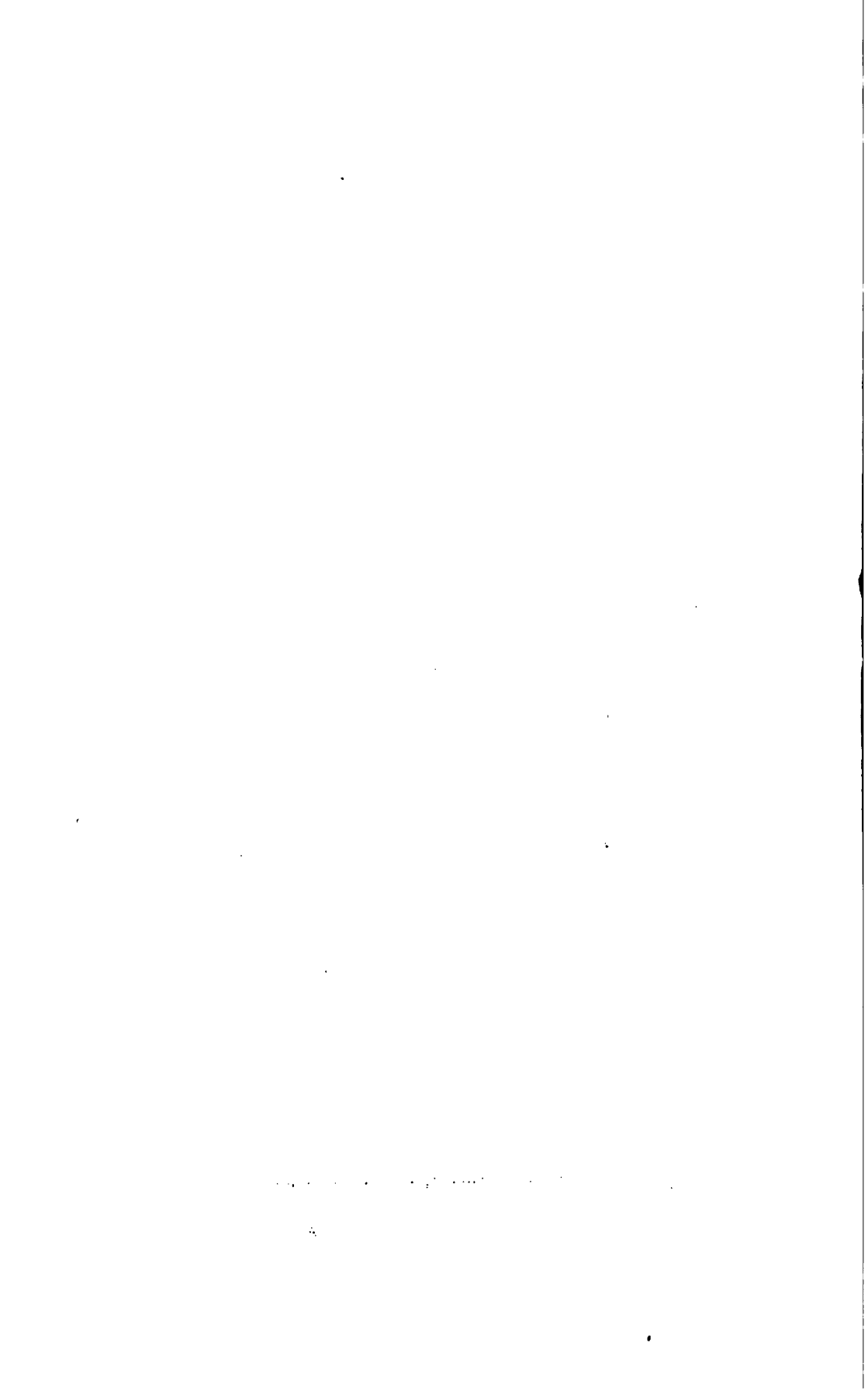
Fig. 10. Ruthwell Cross, West Face, middle.



Fig. 11. Ruthwell Cross, West Face, near bottom.



Fig. 12. Ruthwell Cross, North Face, John the Baptist.



3. *The Figure of Christ.*

His right hand and arm, much mutilated, are raised as if in benediction. The left hand, emerging from a fold of his mantle, which is in the form of a sling, grasps a roll. The left arm slants down across the body, causing the end of the roll to touch the right elbow. He wears a three-rayed wide nimbus, and is bearded. His hair reaches nearly to the shoulder. The heavy folds of the tunic reach almost to the ankle. Each foot, perhaps bare, rests on the head of an animal. These animals, visible only to the shoulder, have their heads bent toward each other, the snouts touching. The raised right forefoot of the left one covers the left forefoot of the right one. The heads are abnormally long, the ears small.

This panel has a top border, separate from the lower border of the upper panel. Between these two borders is the evidence of the cementing of the two monoliths, this lower panel being the top of the lower monolith.

The inscription begins, reading from left to right on the top border, with the abbreviation for Jesus Christ, † IHS XRS (RS partly illegible). It continues down the right border, and half way down jumps to the top of the left border, continues the whole length of that border, and, returning to the right border, ends at the bottom of the latter—the whole as illustrated below :

BESTIAE ET DRACONES COGNOVERUNT INDE	IHS XRS INDEX AEQVITATIS SERTI SALVA . QREM MYNDI
---	---

That is: *Iesus Christus, iudex æquitatis; bestia et dracon[es] cognoverunt in deserto salva[to]rem mundi.*¹

4. *St. Anthony and Paul the Hermit.*

Two figures represent Saints Anthony and Paul in the act of breaking a circular loaf of bread. They stand facing each other, the loaf between them being supported by a forearm of each, which is disclosed from the elbow down, as it projects from the mantle. Their hair, instead of covering the ear, is cut close above it, and then falls to the shoulder.

Across the panel, on the line of the shoulder, is the indication of a break, which is continued round the stone, showing that the lower monolith had been broken in two at this point.

The inscription reads from left to right on the top border, then, down the right a few inches, (the rest of the right is mutilated), and continues down the left border. It reads:

SCS PAVLVS ET A FREGER . . T PANEM
INDESERT◊.

The verb of course represents *fregerunt*.

5. *The Flight into Egypt.*

The legless figure of a horse or ass, the head and tail touching the left and right borders respectively, bears on its back Mary holding the child on one arm. Mary is seated sidewise on the animal, facing the spectator. The child alone wears a nimbus. In the left-hand upper corner of the panel is a portion of a circular object.

The inscription on the upper border reads:

† MARIA ET I◊.

This naturally stands for *Maria et Ioseph*.

*East Face.*²

A vine-scroll starts in the middle of the base. It then curves to the spectator's right, touches the border, and passes over to the left margin, throwing off on the way a branch, which curves downward to the left, touches the left margin, and turns toward the right in such a way as to form with the main vine a large arc of an irregular circle.

The main vine continues its meander from one side to the other, touching the right margin four times in all in the height of the main

¹ Clearest in Fig. 13 a.

² See Figs. 15, 16, 16 a, 17.



Fig. 13. Ruthwell Cross, North Face, Figure of Christ.



*Fig. 13a. Ruthwell Cross, North Face, Figure of Christ.
(From *The Burlington Magazine*.)*



Fig. 14. Ruthwell Cross, North Face, Paul and Anthony, and Flight into Egypt.

St. Paul and Anthony

St. Paul and Anthony
 and the Flight into Egypt

St. Paul and Anthony

St. Paul and Anthony

St. Paul and Anthony

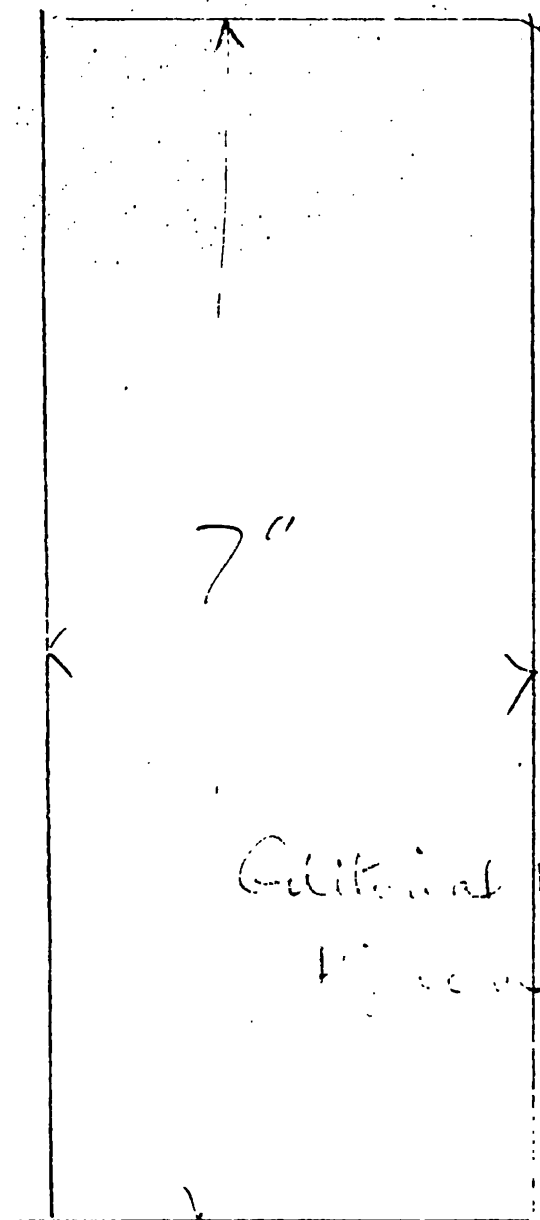




Fig. 15. Ruthwell Cross, East Face, near top.



Fig. 16. Ruthwell Cross, East Face, middle.



Fig. 16a. Ruthwell Cross, East Face, middle.
(From *The Burlington Magazine*.)



Fig. 17. Ruthwell Cross, East Face, near bottom.

stone, approximately twelve feet, the distances between the points of contact diminishing somewhat in the ascent. After the last contact at the right, the vine divides in such a way that it ends in the opposite upper corners in bunches of fruit. The points of contact on the left side are three in number. Meanwhile the vine throws off branches alternately to the left and right, which, recurving, form with the main vine irregular circles, each, except the lowest, enclosing a bird or animal. When the branch is thrown off to the right, the animal's head is turned to the left; when to the left, the animal's head faces the right. Each animal pecks at a fruit which forms the termination of the branch by which the animal is supported. There are thus five of these creatures on this face of the lower monolith, of which three have their heads turned to the left; the lowest seems to be an animal, the next two, birds, and the last two, animals. This vine ends at an upper border, belonging to the lower monolith.

Here, as on the west face, two fragments of *The Dream of the Rood* are written in runes, one, as there, beginning at the top and continuing down the right margin, and the other extending down the left margin. See pp. 19-20, above.

Above this lower monolith is an upper section, broken into two parts, a large section of the lower part having been replaced in recent times by plain hewn stone.

The vine which originally occupied this lower part may have begun near the middle of the lower margin, had its first contact at the left, and afterwards thrown off a branch to the right, which would then have enclosed a bird or animal facing the right. The upper part has the vine touching the right, and then the left, with an animal under the branch thrown off toward the left, and a bird enclosed in the last coil of the vine, which here makes a return upon itself. Of the carving in the lower part, nothing remains except a bunch of fruit in the lower right-hand corner, above which is a short offshoot of the main vine, and above that the descending curl (apparently) of the first branch (thrown off to the right) at its point of contact with the margin. There would, then, probably, have been a bird or animal in the viny portion of the lower part.

On this upper portion there are, or have been, runes. On the right-hand margin there are, above, runes which have never been deciphered, their uprights being at right angles to the direction of the margin, and the runes to be read from the left. Below, on the right, and written in the same manner, are the runes which have been read *dægisgæf*. On the upper part there seem to be traces of runes on the left margin, and transverse to it.

The following table of dimensions is taken from Allen¹:

Height of base	3 feet	8 inches
Height of shaft	10 "	6 "
Height of head	2 "	10 "
Total height of cross	17 "	0 "
Width of base	2 "	3 "
Width of shaft at bottom	1 foot	9 "
Width of shaft at top	1 "	1 inch
Width across arms of cross	3 feet	1 "
Width of top arm		9 inches
Thickness of base	1 foot	6 "
Thickness of shaft at bottom	1 "	6 "
Thickness of shaft at top		9 "

These figures are only approximative, however; for example, it cannot be definitely determined where the base passes into the shaft. The width across the arms of the cross is of no value, since these arms are modern.

II. THE BEWCASTLE CROSS

The Bewcastle Cross has not been so frequently and accurately described as that at Ruthwell. The following account reposes upon personal examination and photographs specially made for the purpose.²

*West Face.*³

This face has three carved figures, the spaces between them being occupied by runes.

1. John the Baptist with the Agnus Dei.

The upper figure, supposed that of John the Baptist, closely resembles the figure on the Ruthwell Cross. The man, wearing beard and moustache, clothed in tunic and mantle, supports a lamb on his left arm, which is concealed by the draped mantle. His right arm, over which an end of the cloak falls, is indistinct. The man appears to hold the lamb by its forelegs; the hind legs seem doubled beneath it. The animal wears a nimbus, and is facing the man's right. The essential difference between this and

¹ *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 442.

² By Messrs. J. P. Gibson, of Hexham, and F. W. Tassell, of Carlisle.

³ See Figs. 2, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

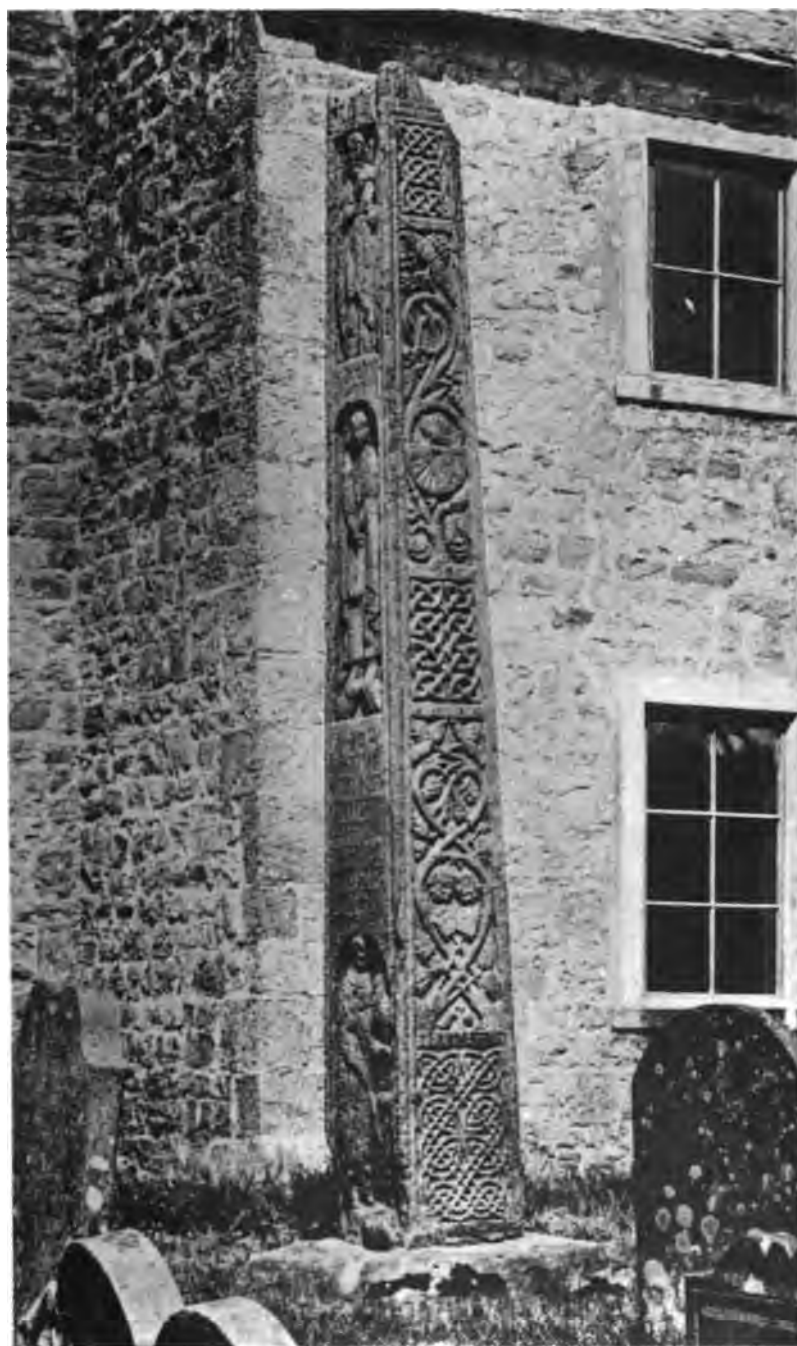


Fig. 18. Bewcastle Cross, South and West Faces.



Fig. 19. Bewcastle Cross, West Face.



Fig. 20. Bewcastle Cross, West Face, John the Baptist, Figure of Christ, and Runes.

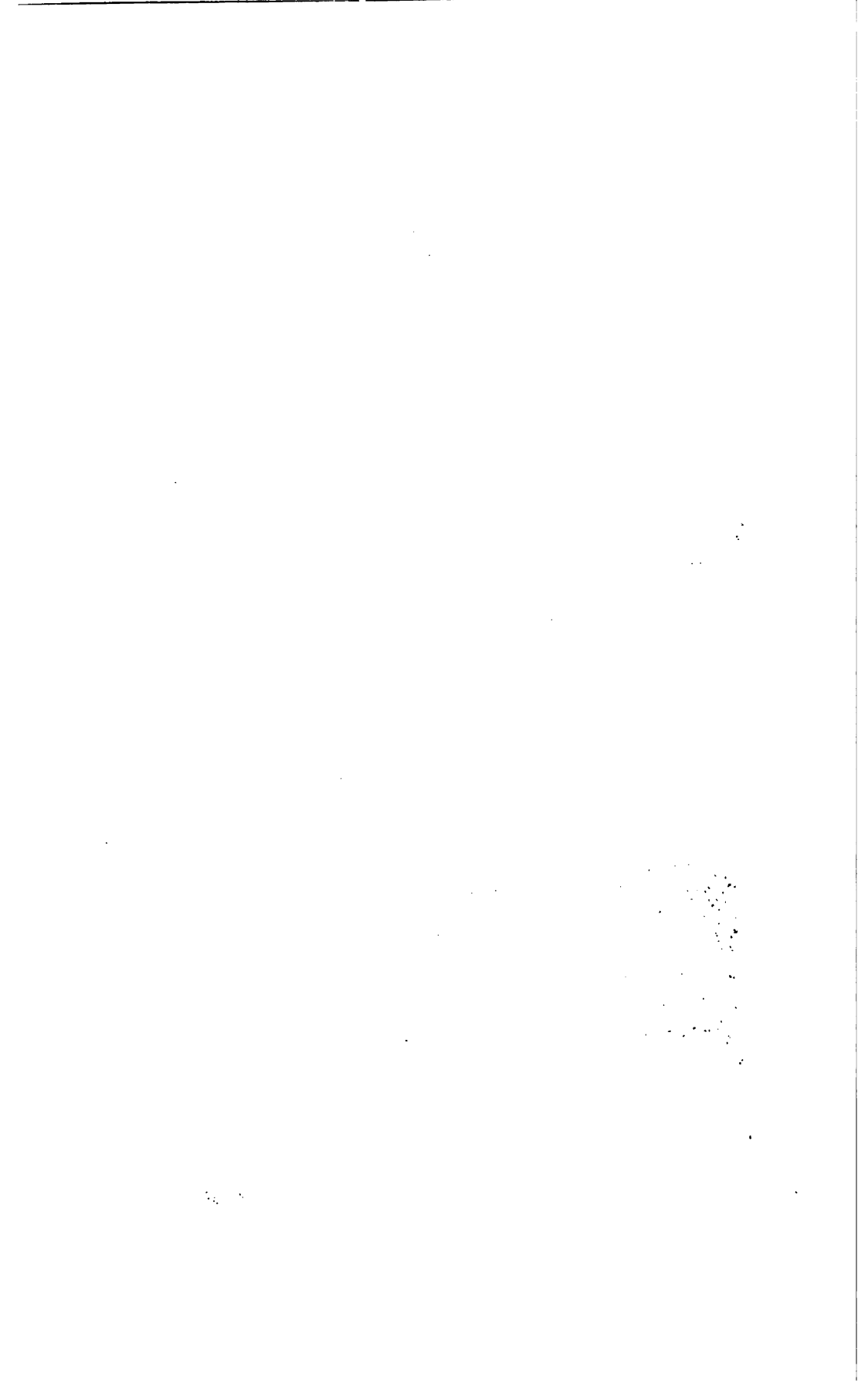




Fig. 21. Bewcastle Cross, West Face, Runes.

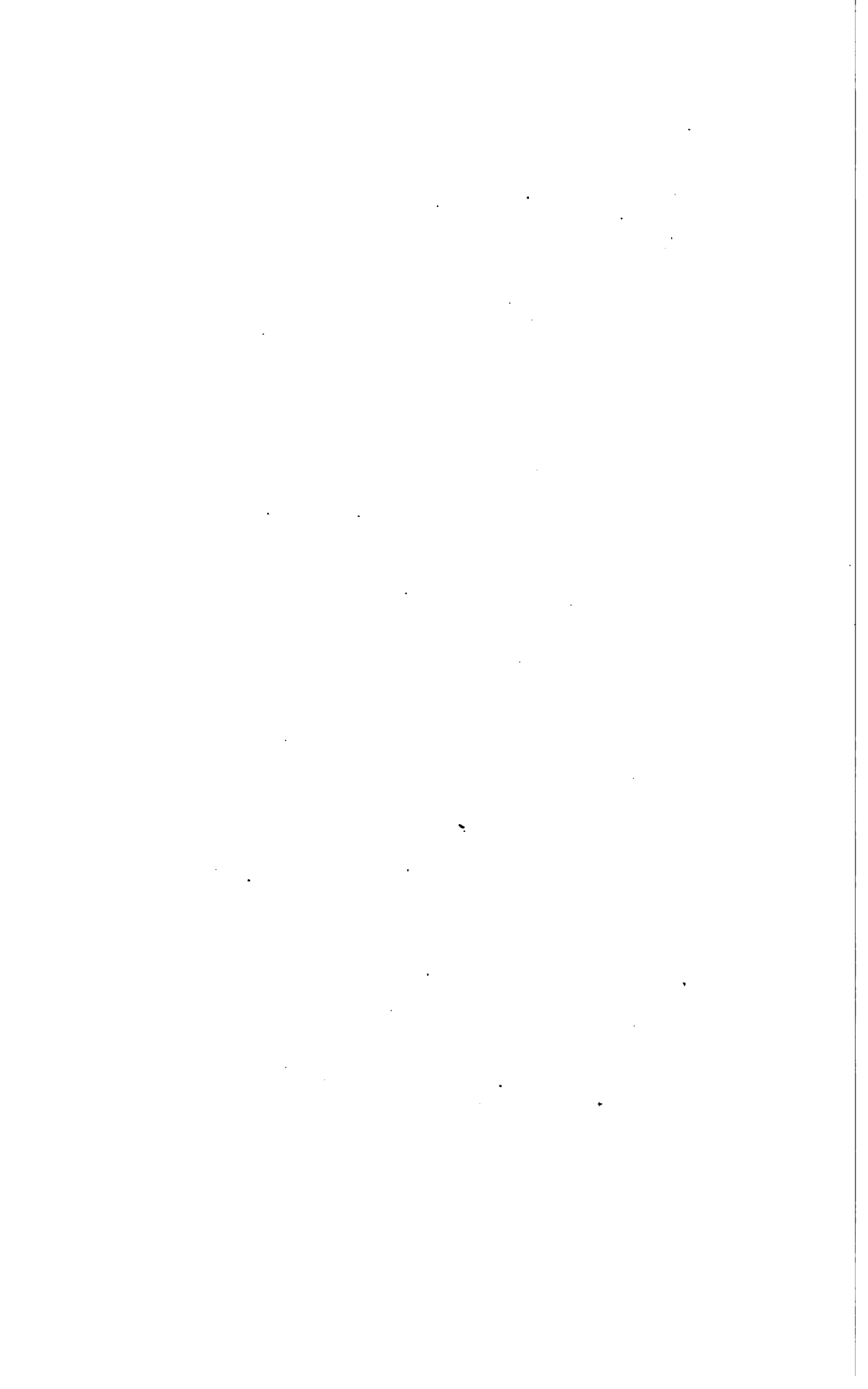




Fig. 22. Collingwood's Plate of Runes. (From *Early Sculptured Crosses*.)



Fig. 23. Bewcastle Cross, West Face, Falconer.

the Ruthwell figure is the lack of nimbus in this case, and also of visible feet—the hem of the gown reaches the base of the panel.

Beneath the panel are these runes¹:

2. *The Figure of Christ.*

†Xīīyyn

The central figure stands in a niche, like the others, except that the top is curved, not square. The figure, that of Christ, stands facing the spectator, his feet placed on the long heads of two animals which emerge diagonally from the lower corners. The noses of the creatures are touching, their ears are small, and what may possibly be a foot of each appears just above its head, on the left and right respectively. The head of Christ, wearing a cruciform nimbus, has parted hair which falls to his shoulders. The face appears to be without beard or moustache. He is clothed in a tunic, reaching to the ankles, and a mantle, which, V-shaped at the neck, has its heavy folds caught up, and draped over each arm. The right arm, bent upward from the elbow, from which the drapery hangs, is topped by a mutilated hand, in the attitude of benediction. The left hand holds across the front a roll, an end of which touches the right elbow. At each side the folds of the mantle reach the hem of the tunic; the curved fold falling between the arms reaches only to the knee.

†Pīītīnī

Between this figure and the lowest one there is a long space, filled by nine horizontal lines of runes, now mostly illegible.²

3. *The Falconer.*

The lowest figure, also in a round-arched niche, is that of a falconer, with a bird of prey on his wrist. The main body, placed in the left of the panel, is turned sidewise, the right shoulder being presented to the spectator. The head is turned nearly full face outward. Parted hair falls to the shoulders, and the face has beard and moustache. The left forearm is extended horizontally toward the right border of the panel, and the bird perches on it, facing outward. Though the claws are worn away, it is just above the hand in the conventional position of a trained falcon. Its beak is turned toward the man's left shoulder. Beneath it, standing higher than the falconer's knee, is the perch, shaped like a crutch or T. The man holds in his right hand a rod, which slants downward in front of him. His garment seems to resemble a plaid of heavy cloth, which, draped across his chest, is

¹ See p. 37.

² See pp. 38, 41-43.

drawn over the left shoulder and upper arm and across the back, the long end falling down over the right shoulder and reaching nearly to the ankle.

*North Face.*¹

This face of the shaft is divided into five panels of varying heights, which are separated from one another by narrow borders.

1. The top panel is filled by a vine-scroll. From a thick stem, which starts in the middle of the base, the main vine curves first to the right border, throwing off a spiral branch to the left, then to the left border, making a spiral to the right; and, recurving to the right border, forms a finishing spiral to the left. Of the three spirals the lowest is the largest and most elaborate, and is separated from the others by a longer space than lies between the two upper ones. At the foot of the vine on either side hangs a short-stemmed bunch of fruit. From below each of the spirals stretches a shoot from the main vine, which, twined across the spiral, emerges above it, and ends in fruit or foliage. The spiral branches also end in fruit and foliage, which fill the interstices of the other carving.

2. The next panel is quite small, and filled with an intricate pattern of interlacing.

3. A long panel, nearly the height of the first, is entirely filled with chequer-work, every other division being in relief. There are eight square spaces between side and side, four of which are in relief; and there are twenty-five from top to bottom.

4. This panel is small, and filled with another pattern of interlacing.

5. The lowest panel is of the same height as the top one. From the two lower corners emerge two vines, which come into contact with each other twice, forming a symmetrical figure resembling an urn, with two spirals at its base, and two at the top. The right vine curves toward and touches the left vine, then curves to the right border. After again touching the left vine, it ends in a spiral and a bunch of fruit in the right upper corner. The left vine repeats this in the opposite direction.

The borders between the panels originally contained runes, now mostly undecipherable. The lowest, however, appears to bear the word *Cynnburug*.²

*East Face.*³

In the panel runs a vine-scroll from bottom to top. The main vine starts in the middle of the base, and curves alternately to

¹ See Figs. 24, 25, 26.

² See p. 43, and Vietor, p. 16.

³ See Figs. 27, 28, 29.



Fig. 24. Bewcastle Cross, North and West Faces.



Fig. 25. Bewcastle Cross, North Face, upper.



Fig. 26. Bewcastle Cross, North Face, lower.

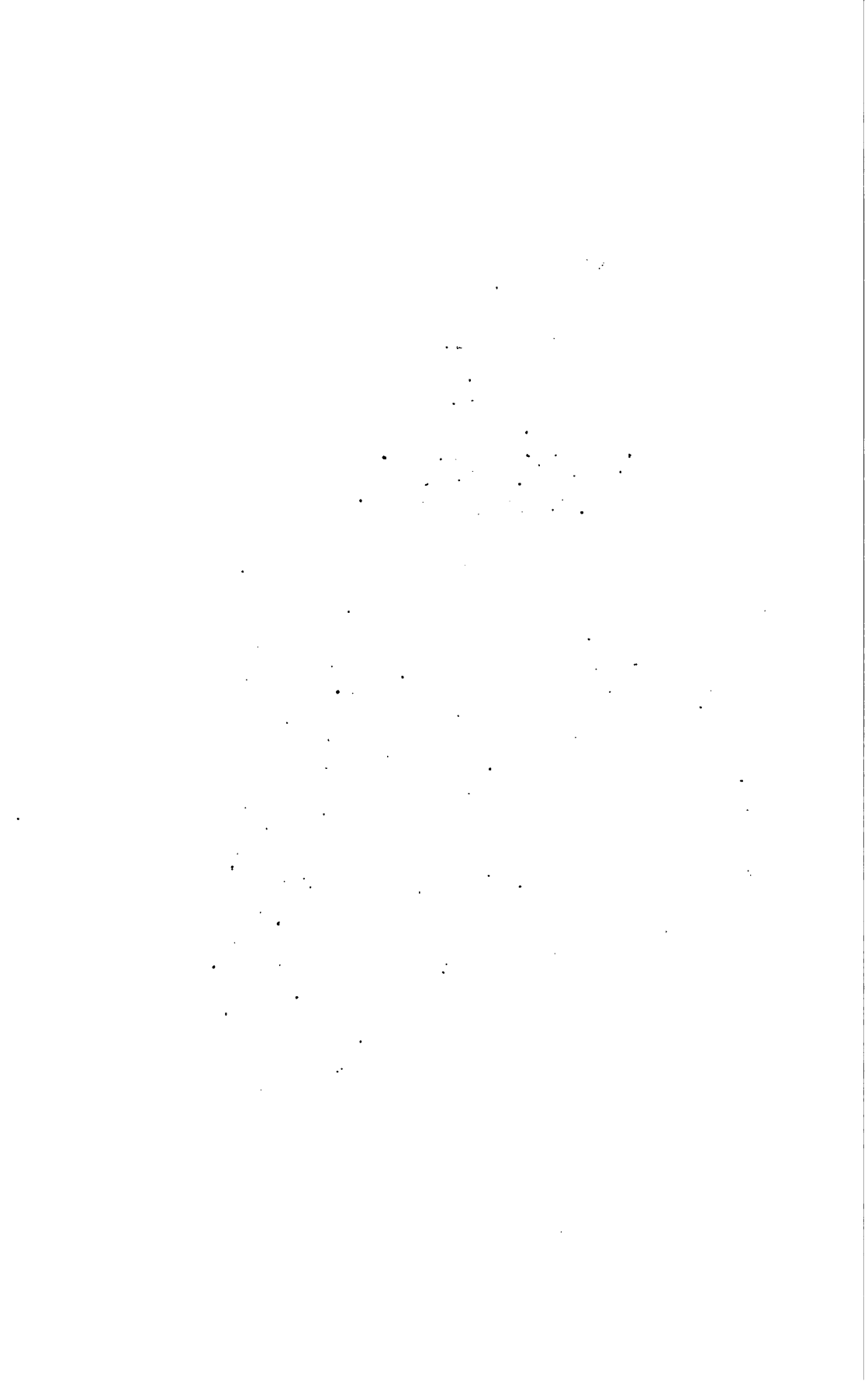




Fig. 27. Bewcastle Cross, East Face.



Fig. 28. Bewcastle Cross, East Face, upper.

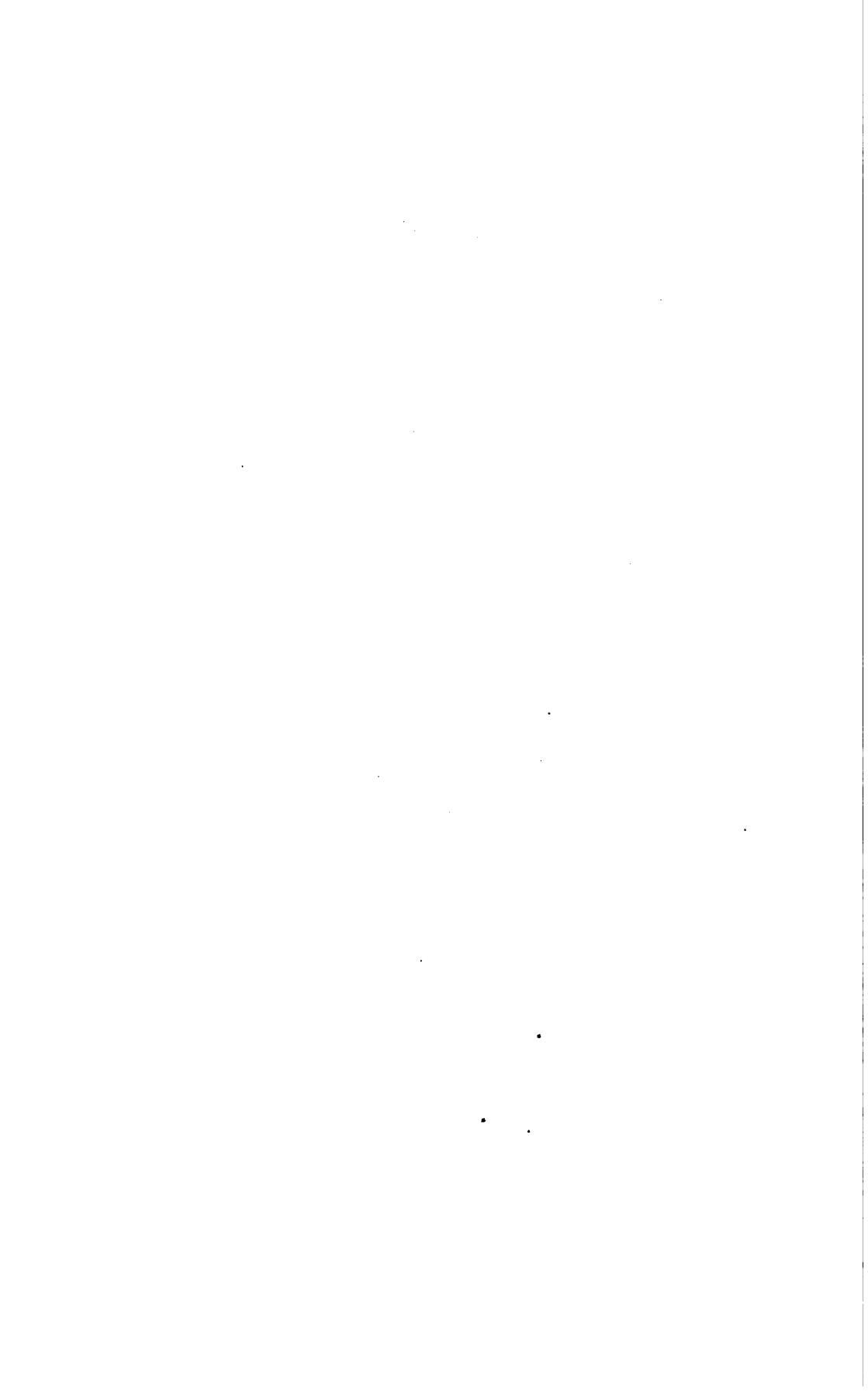




Fig. 29. Bewcastle Cross, East Face, lower.

right and left, touching the right border five times, the left one four times. Above each contact it throws off a spiral branch, which curves in the opposite direction to the course of the vine, touching the border in so doing. In each curled branch there rests a bird or animal, devouring the bunch of fruit in which the branch ends. They face alternately right and left. The two creatures at the top closely resemble squirrels with bushy tails over their backs; the next two are somewhat like crows; the next two are animals with small ears and no hind legs, only a tail which is curved to resemble an offshoot. The lowest creature is somewhat hard to make out. At the juncture of each spiral branch save the lowest two with the main vine, there issues a small shoot, ending in a leaf or a bunch of fruit, which fills up an empty space at the border. The top of the vine is divided into two shoots, which end in two bunches of fruit, side by side, touching the top border.

*South Face.*¹

The south face is divided into five panels, three short and two long ones. They contain, beginning at the top:

1. A pattern of interlaced bands, forming a piece of knotwork just fitting the oblong panel.

2. A vine-scroll. This, starting at the middle of the base, curves first to the left, then to the right, and ends in a bunch of fruit at the upper right-hand corner. Above each contact it throws off a branch, which curves in the opposite direction to the course of the vine, and forms a spiral ending in a bunch of fruit. Several small shoots from the main vine are interlaced with the two large branches, and two bunches of fruit hang beside the base of the stem. Across the lower half of the oval space formed by the first spiral branch there is a dial-face, resembling an outstretched fan upside down, reaching from border to border. Lines are drawn to its circumference from a hole near the centre of its upper side.

3. Another pattern of interlaced bands, filling a somewhat larger panel than the first.

4. Two vine-scrolls. These, starting obliquely from the lower corners of the base, form a symmetrical design resembling a figure eight. The left vine, crossing the other, curves first to the right, then, crossing again, bends to the left. Its end is divided into three shoots tipped with fruit, one of which fills the upper right corner, after crossing a similar shoot from the other vine which fills the left corner.

¹ See Figs. 18, 30, 31, 32.

The other two ends bend down into the upper half of the figure eight, and one, continuing, ends in a space outside the figure. The right vine is developed in exactly the same way, in the opposite direction. The two halves of the figure eight are made somewhat heart-shaped by the offshoots which bend in, and, crossing, fill the space with fruit. The upper half has two bunches, the lower four, two depending from above, two springing from shoots below. The outside triangular spaces left by the figure eight are filled with bunches of fruit, which tip the ends of shoots.

5. Still another design of interlaced bands, taller than either of the preceding.

At the edge of each face of the shaft there runs a border, inside of which is a narrower molding. Runes, now illegible, once occupied the spaces between successive panels.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE CROSSES

OUTLINE

In dealing with the crosses, we have to consider :

- I. The Inscriptions.
- II. The Figure-Sculpture.
- III. The Decorative Sculpture.
- I. The Inscriptions. These are :
 - 1. Runic.
 - 2. Latin.

The runic inscriptions on the Ruthwell Cross, so far as they are intelligible, embody fragments of an Old English poem, *The Dream of the Rood*. At least one short one on the Bewcastle Cross appears to spell a proper name. The longest inscription is practically illegible, but the two or three words which perhaps can be made out seem to point to a possible memorial purpose.

The Latin inscriptions (found only on the Ruthwell Cross) are extracts from the Gospels, or other phrases and short sentences, descriptive of the figure-sculpture with which they are associated.

An examination of both the runic and the Latin inscriptions with reference to their date would have reference to :

A. The forms of the letters.

Here it must be remembered that early forms of letters might be found on a comparatively late monument, but not *vice versa*.



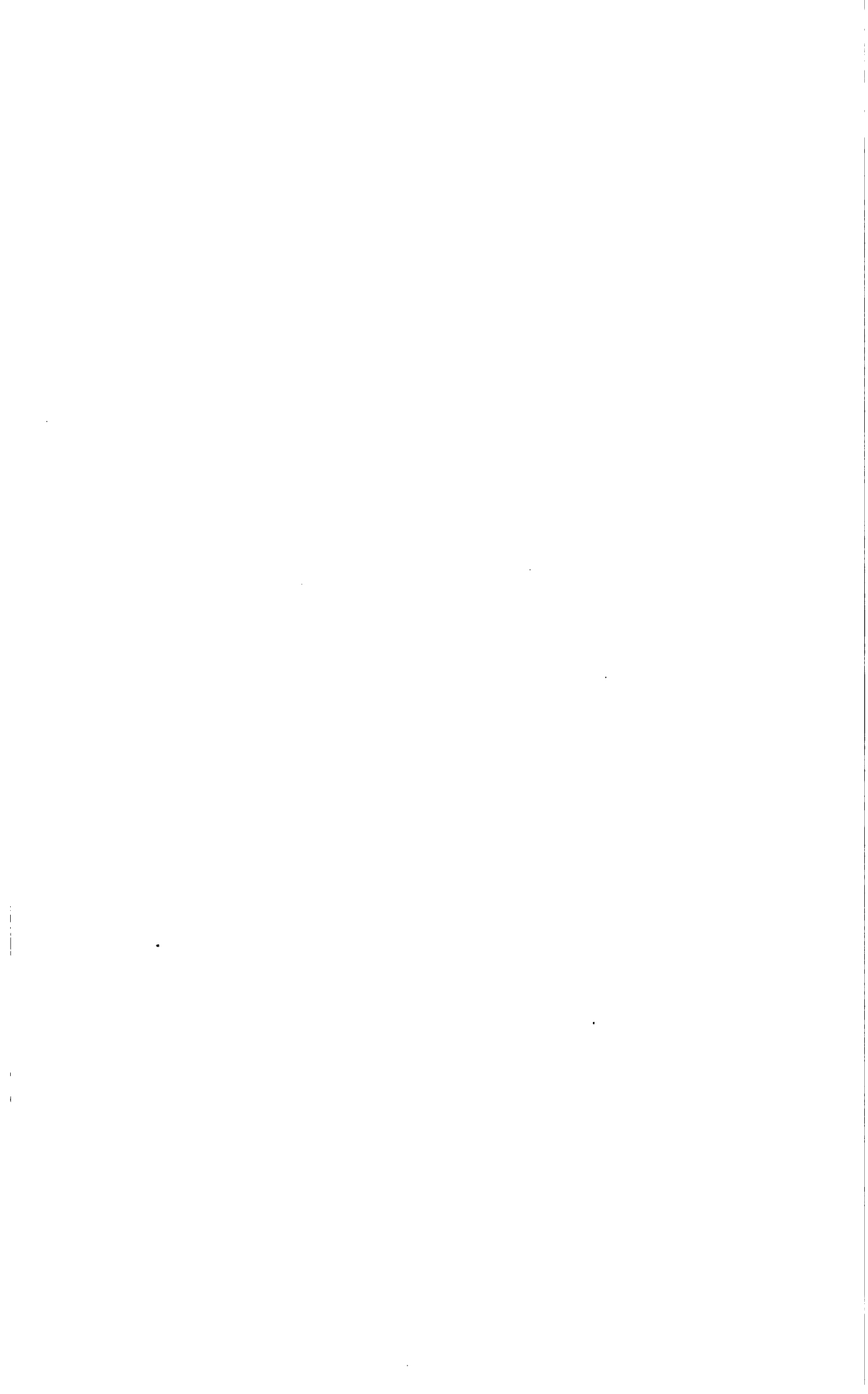
Fig. 30. Bewcastle Cross, South Face.



Fig. 31. Bewcastle Cross, South Face, upper.



Fig. 32. Bewcastle Cross, South Face, lower.



B. The language.

This would include the forms of words, their inflections, their meanings, and their constructions. In the case of the fragments of *The Dream of the Rood*, an examination of the language would imply comparison, particularly with the other specimens of that Old English dialect, the Northumbrian, to which the fragments belong.

C. Metrical peculiarities.

These would be found, if at all, only in the fragments of *The Dream of the Rood* on the Ruthwell Cross.

D. Historical subject-matter, if any.

II. The Figure-Sculpture.

Here are included :

1. Single figures or groups belonging to the Gospel story, sometimes with symbolical accessories. These include (all Ruthwell but the first and last) :

John the Baptist with the Agnus Dei (Ruthwell and Bewcastle).

The Annunciation.

The Visitation.

The Flight into Egypt.

Christ's Healing of the Blind Man.

The Anointing of Christ's Feet.

The Crucifixion.

The Figure of Christ alone (Ruthwell and Bewcastle).

2. Groups belonging to Christian legend. The single example of these is the group of Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony.
3. *Genre*-subjects. Here would apparently belong the man with the hawk of the Bewcastle Cross, and perhaps the archer of the Ruthwell Cross.

III. The Decorative Sculpture.

Here belong :

1. The vines or foliage-scrolls of both the Ruthwell and the Bewcastle Crosses.
2. The chequers of the Bewcastle Cross.
3. The interlacings or knots of the Bewcastle Cross.
4. The sundial of the Bewcastle Cross (unless this be regarded as purely utilitarian).

I. THE INSCRIPTIONS

1. RUNIC

A. Forms of Letters.

If, now, we take up the subject in this order, we shall first consider the runic inscriptions with regard to the forms of the letters. These letters are commonly said to be Anglian runes, of presumably the 7th century. Here 'Anglian' might be used (1) in contradistinction to Scandinavian or German, or (2) in contradistinction to Saxon. To say that they are Anglian merely because they are found in the North of England, in territory probably or conjecturally Anglian, is to add nothing to our knowledge. Are they unlike any runic letters regarded by competent runologists as Scandinavian? Are they unlike any runic letters regarded by competent runologists as Saxon? Furthermore, can it be shown, by comparison with other authentically dated specimens, that these runic letters must be dated as early as the 7th century? ¹ This is what it imports us to know. For myself, I know too little of the history of runes in detail to attempt to deal with this question at the present time. I will therefore limit myself to the remark that, even were it fully established that such runic letters as these were employed in England in the 7th century, I should not feel compelled to assume that these inscriptions belonged to the 7th century, since the history of Greek, Latin, and runic inscriptions demonstrates that earlier forms of letters not only may be found, but actually are found, on later monuments.

Boeckh has classified the different kinds of Greek inscriptions which may easily deceive the unwary as to their age.² A well-known example of a genuine Latin inscription renewed a couple of hundred years later, is on the Columna Rostrata,³ discovered in 1565.

Prima est fictorum antiquitas, qui seu vera seu falsa continentes posteriore ætate exarati sunt, ut prius extitisse viderentur. Tales olim fuere multi; tales habendi essent n. 43-69 nisi Petrizzopulum et Fourmontum satis teneremus convictos; tale est Delphicum quoddam apud Cyriacum oraculum, Byzantina cusum ætate.⁴

¹ Evidently not, if Sievers is right in thinking all Anglian runes, with one exception, to be as late as the 8th century (see p. 11, note 6).

² Cf. Franz, *Elementa Epigraphices Græcæ* (1840), pp. 73 ff.; Larfeld, *Handbuch der Griechischen Epigraphik* 1. 431 (cf. Müller's *Handbuch der Klass. Altertumswissenschaft* 1. 492-3).

³ *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* 1. 37-40; cf. Wölfflin in *Sitzber. der K. Bay. Akad. der Wiss., Philos.-Philol. Classe*, 1890, 1. 293-321.

⁴ Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* 1. xxx.

Alteram classem constituunt *affectati* tituli, nec priori tributi ætati ab iis, qui eos composuerunt, neque omnino falsi, sed per lusum, vel ut antiquitatis quadam quasi robigine inducta maior iis accederet auctoritas, ea forma vel scripturæ vel orationis vel utriusque facti, quæ tum non fuit usitata. Ex quo genere sunt columnæ Herodis, sæculi post Christum secundi; sed iam Praxiteles hunc secutus morem est, insigne exemplum accessit n. 25 circa Olymp. 102 scriptum.¹

Postremo tertia est classis titulorum falsi quadam specie interiore affectorum, sed omni fraudis suspicione liberandorum; eos dico, qui *instauratione* antiqui monumenti in priscorum successerunt locum, ut Megarici n. 1050-1051. . . . Nec poemata ex libris petita, quæ quidem iam antiquitus coniecta in lapides sint, ut n. 511. 1724. vel sententiæ scriptoribus excerptæ, ut ex Bacchylide et Platone, recte sollicitabuntur, si et scripturæ forma refert antiquitatem, et titulum aut idonei tradiderunt auctores aut monumentum continet nulla ex parte suspectum.²

Veri sunt tituli, *sed aliunde petiti* et in lapides coniecti, in Kempianis plures, n. 372. 614. 652. 1105*b*. ita ut hæc Kempiana monumenta sint quidem ipse falsa, sed continent veras inscriptiones. . . . *Aliena inscriptio* ex libro petita imposita est sepulcro Homeri, quod vocatur, *antiqua antiquo monumento*, et sic permultæ ex Anthologia et aliis vetustis libris coniectæ in antiqua anaglypha sunt.³

With regard to the occurrence of the earlier forms of runes on later Danish monuments, the words of Wimmer are authoritative.

De ældre formen ikke sjælden genfindes på nogle af de yngste mindesmærker.⁴

As to the reproduction of earlier forms at a comparatively late date on the Bewcastle Cross, Sievers expressed his opinion in 1891.

Die Inschrift dieses Steines [Bewcastle Cross] bietet so vieles Rätselhafte, dass man sich zu der Annahme gezwungen sieht, dass wir es mit einer jungen Kopie einer alten, nicht verstandenen Inschrift zu tun haben. Das uralte *Olufwolpu* neben Novitäten wie *Kyneswipa*, *Wulphere* statt *Kyni*-, *-heri*; *kyninges*, *rices* statt *-æs*; *gebid* . . . st. *gibid* . . . wäre bei einer Originalschrift doch ein zu starker Anachronismus. Und wie wäre sonst das unsinnige *gebid heo sinna sowhula* statt *gibiddæþ sinræ sawlæ* zu erklären?⁵

¹ Boeckh 1. xxx.

² *Ibid.* 1. xxxi.

³ *Ibid.* 1. xxx.

⁴ Wimmer, *De Danske Runemindesmærker*, 1ⁱ. clxxxi; cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 5. 614: 'It appears certain that in Ogamie writings stereotyped forms were used long after they had disappeared in ordinary speech.'

⁵ *Anglia* 13. 12, note; otherwise Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, pp. 212-3.

Henry Rousseau tells¹ of certain sepulchral slabs in Belgium which bear inscriptions evidently copied from earlier ones, thus substantiating the foregoing statements.

That runic inscriptions were carved in England in the 12th century² is generally admitted. Such are those on a tympanum at Perlington (1150 or later),³ the so-called Dolfin runes⁴ at Carlisle Cathedral (doubtful), those on the Bridekirk font,⁵ and those on the Adam grave-slab at Dearham.⁶ Of the 11th century is the Danish stone found in St. Paul's churchyard, London.⁷

The oldest runic inscriptions of Denmark date from the 9th century.⁸ Those referring to historic personages are not found earlier than 935–940.⁹ According to Allen, the runic inscriptions of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark date from the 10th to the 16th century.¹⁰ The oldest Icelandic ones belong to the 13th century.¹¹ The Old Norwegian ones, according to Noreen,¹² are but little, if any, older than the written documents, and of these only two are found so early as 900–1100.

B. Language.

We shall next consider the language of the runic inscriptions. So far as the Ruthwell fragments of *The Dream of the Rood* are concerned, I made a comparison in 1901 between their linguistic forms and those of the other Northumbrian documents which could be approximately dated, and came to the same conclusion as already

¹ *Annales de la Soc. Archéol. de Bruxelles* 16. 70.

² For the Isle of Man, see p. 38, note 4.

³ See Keyser, *List of Early Norman Tympana*, pp. xxvi, lxix, and Fig. 137; *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, N. S. 3. 373.

⁴ *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* 6. 308; *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 93.

⁵ *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 68 ff. Vietor calls the runes essentially Norse, and the language Middle English (*Die North. Runensteine*, p. 16, note 2).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123. Vietor says (*ibid.*): 'Das nord. Runen-M (früher "R") ergab . . . sofort den nichtenglischen Charakter der Inschrift.'

⁷ Wimmer, *De Danske Runemindesmærker* 1^a. cxxxvi-vii; Keyser, *List of Norman Tympana*, p. xxvi.

⁸ Wimmer 1^a. lxvi; cf. 2. 317.

⁹ Wimmer 1^a. clxxix.

¹⁰ *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 207.

¹¹ Noreen, *Altisländ. und Altnorw. Gram.*, 3d ed., p. 8.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

in 1890¹ that, in spite of certain forms apparently early, the fragments must be dated as late as, or later than, the *Lindisfarne Gospels* of about 950.

On the basis of this phonological examination [conducted at some length] we have found that, while the general aspect of the inscription has led many persons to refer it to an early period, it lacks some of the marks of antiquity; every real mark of antiquity can be paralleled from the latest documents; some of the phenomena point to a period subsequent to that of *Lind.* and *Rit.* [*Lindisfarne Gospels* and *Durham Ritual*, ca. 950], and none flatly contradicts such an assumption. If to this we add that a comparison with *The Dream of the Rood* indicates that the Ruthwell inscription is later than that poem; that certain of the forms of the poem seem to have been inadvertently retained; and that at least one word, *dorsta*, is, in its radical vowel, not Northumbrian at all, while it is of the dialect of the *Rood*, we shall not hesitate, I believe, to assume that the Ruthwell inscription is at least as late as the tenth century.²

One word, not treated at length in my article of 1901, is here dealt with more fully, because of the importance attached to it by the brilliant scholar, Kemble.

Ungget.

Kemble called the word, which appears on the east side of the Ruthwell Cross, on the left margin, a little more than halfway down, an 'incontrovertible proof of extreme antiquity, having,' as he added, 'to the best of my knowledge, never been found but in this passage.'

That Kemble had found the word nowhere else was, of course no proof whatever of its extreme antiquity. As a matter of fact, it occurs neither in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts* (save here) nor in the writings of Alfred. Had Kemble lived a few years longer, he could, however, have found another example of it. The article³ from which the above extract is taken was published in 1840; Kemble died in 1857; and between 1864 and 1869 Oswald Cockayne published a set of occasional papers under the title of *The Shrine*, in No. 7 of which, a life of Malchus, our word occurs as *uncet*, in the following sentence: 'Hēr wit habbað hælo, gif Drihten unc wile fultumian; and gif hē forhigeð uncet fyrenfulle, þonne habbað wit hēr byrgene in þissum eorðscræfe.' Here it stands, parallel with

¹ *Academy* (London) 37. 153-4.

² *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 389-90. A better reading of one of the words of the *Leiden Riddle*, *cnyissan* for *cnyssa* (Schlutter, *Anglia* 32. 387), only confirms my general conclusion. Brandl (see p. 14, above) speaks of the lines as being 'partly in metrical confusion' (p. 139).

³ *Archæologia* 28. 359.

unc,¹ in a text which has some northern peculiarities (*gesēgon* for *gesāwon*, *cēgan* for *cīegan*, *in* for *on*), but also some which are as clearly Late West Saxon (*specan* for *sprecan*, *gýt* for *giet*, *drihten* for *dryhten*, *þinceð* for *þynceð*, *gehýrde* for *gehierde*, *miccle* for *micle*, *næddran* for *nādran*).²

In like manner, *incit* occurs in the poetical *Genesis A* (2732, 2880), side by side with *unc* (2504).

As neither *incit* nor *uncet* appears in any other Germanic tongue, we have no means of determining whether *-it* or *-et* is earlier, save on the basis of Old English alone. Now as the *Genesis A* is presumably earlier than the *Malchus*, and as the former has *-it* (twice), while the latter has *-et*, it would seem, though the evidence is scanty, that *-it* is the older ending; and this appears to be the view of Sievers, who writes³ *incit* and *uncit* (?). Accordingly, the form on the Ruthwell Cross, with its ending *-et*, would, by this test, be rather late.

Again, the spelling of the runic form is very peculiar. It is usually transliterated as *ungket* or *ungcet*. Now the substitution of the rune *ng* (a single letter) for *n* is sufficiently remarkable; but, in addition to this, I am convinced that the next following letter is not *c* (or *k*), as in the *cwomu*⁴ of the west side, right border, but rather *g* (the rune X). Hence we have the extraordinary form, *ungget*, which looks as though the sculptor had carved a word whose spelling was unfamiliar to him, and had done it bunglingly.⁵

Inc and *unc*, the much more usual forms of the dual dative and accusative, continue on into Middle English, occurring as late as

¹ *Shrine*, p. 42.

² All on p. 42.

³ *Old English Grammar*, tr. Cook, § 332.

⁴ The comparison with the first letter of *cwomu* may be conveniently made on the basis of the photograph of the Edinburgh cast (reproduced by Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 447), by counting down the right border to the eleventh line, not including the upper margin. The first three letters, CWO, are just above the bunch of fruit over the bird whose head is turned to the left; the rune for C looks something like a trident.

⁵ The word can be made out by any one who has access to a good photograph of this side (see Vietor's Fig. 1, for example; much less clear in my Fig. 13a); it is situated on the left border of the east side, nearly opposite the hand of Christ in the group with the blind man, and also nearly opposite the foot of the bird whose head is turned to the left. The word is divided between two lines, thus:

UUNĠ (three letters)
GET

the first U belonging to the preceding word.

1250, and sporadically even later. Since the dual of the first and second personal pronouns is thus recognized for about two hundred years after the Norman Conquest, it is not surprising that a dual form should occur on the Ruthwell Cross at a late period ; and, as we have seen above, the evidence favors a late period rather than an earlier, (1) because the only other occurrence of the word is in a text with late spellings, (2) because *-et*, the ending in both examples of the word, seems late, as if due to lack of stress, and (3) because the sculptor makes two blunders in the one word, showing perhaps that it was specially unfamiliar when he worked.

From *The Dream of the Rood* is taken a much briefer inscription, occurring on a reliquary at Brussels, reputed to contain a fragment of the True Cross. The inscription was engraved on a strip of silver which formerly encircled the reliquary, and which was found when the latter was taken to pieces at the instance of Professor Logeman.¹ In order to understand its relation to the corresponding fragments on the Ruthwell Cross, I give first the adapted lines of *The Dream of the Rood* (42 (beginning), 44, 45, 48) :

Bifode ic. . . .

Rōd wæs ic āræred ; āhōf ic ricne Cyning,
heofona Hlāford ; hylðan mē ne dorste.

Bysmeredon hīe unc bütū ætgædere. Eall ic wæs mid blōde
bestēmed.

Here the Ruthwell Cross has (Viotor's readings) :

ic riicnæ Kyning,
heafunæs Hlāfard ; hælða ic ni dorstæ.
Bismærædu unget² men bā ætgad[r]e.
Ic miþ blōdæ bistēmid.

It is evident that the monumental inscription omits lines and hemistichs, and substitutes one word or form for another.

The Brussels inscription is not continuous on the silver plate of the reliquary, but divided as follows :

¹ See his brochure, *L'Inscription Anglo-Saxonne du Reliquaire de la Vraie Croix*, 1891, pp. 3, 6.

² Viotor, *ungket* ; see p. 34, above.

†RODISMINNAMAGEOICRICNECYNINGBÆRBYFIGYNDEB
LODEBESTEMED

‡A

SRODEHETÆ‡LMÆR

WYRICAN7

AD†ELWOLDHYSBERO‡O

CRISTETOLOFEFORÆLFRICESSAVLEHYRABERO‡OR²

This gives us :

‘ Rōd is mīn nama ; gēo ic rīcne Cyning bær,
byfigynde, blōde bestēmed. ‡ās rōde hēt
Æ‡lmær wyrican, and Adelwold hys berō‡o[r],
Crīste tō lofe, for Ælfrices sāule hyra berō‡or ;’

which may be thus translated :

‘ Rood is my name ; of old I bore the mighty King, trembling,
bedewed with blood. This rood had Æthelmær made, and
Æthelwold his brother, to the glory of Christ, for the soul
of Ælfric their brother.’

The Brussels inscription thus proceeds with at least as much freedom as that of the Ruthwell Cross. The *byfigynde* is a transposed adaptation of *Bifode* (42) ; 44 is materially changed ; and the phrase from 48, while remaining unaltered, is moved up several lines ; so that the effect of the whole is that of extreme condensation, with line 44, retaining *ic rīcne Cyning* as its core, becoming dominant.

As to its bearing upon the date of the Ruthwell Cross inscription, Logeman³ assigns the Brussels inscription to about the year 1100, and this can hardly be far from the truth. In any case, I presume that no expert, in view of the phonology, would date it earlier than 1000. To the words cited as proof by Logeman might be added the Late West Saxon *gēo*⁴ and *wyrican* ; the latter may be compared with the *wyricean* of the *Blickling Homilies*⁵, commonly referred to A. D. 971, and the *wyrihta*, -e of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (ca. 950). The

¹ Logeman reads Ð, but the facsimile does not seem to bear him out. We clearly have a Latinized form such as is often found in Bede's *Eccelesiastical History* ; this is borne out by the A of *Adelwold*, for Æ.

² On the back of the reliquary is the Old English sentence :

DRAHMALMEWORHTE ;

which resolves itself into :

‘ Drahmal mē worhte.’

This, in modern English, means : ‘ Drahmal made me.’

³ P. 10.

⁴ Bülbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 298.

⁵ 75. 13.

Brussels inscription, then, indicates that *The Dream of the Rood* was drawn upon in the 11th or 12th century for epigraphic purposes, and therefore tends to confirm any independent presumption that the Ruthwell Cross inscription is to be assigned to a late period, or at least does nothing to invalidate such a presumption.

With reference to the runic inscriptions on the Bewcastle Cross which can be read with any certainty, these are limited by Vietor¹ to *Cyniburug* and *(Ge)ssu(s)*, on the north face; *Gessus Cristtus* [*Kristtus*], on the west above the figure of Christ; with *Hwætr(e)d* (l. 2) . . . *gar* (l. 4), *Alcfripu* (ll. 5–6, very probably), *cyning* (l. 6), and *Osw[iu]ng* (l. 7, very probably), in the main inscription. Of *æft Al* he says (p. 15): 'Alle beschädigt, aber, wie ich glaube, vorhanden,' so that he would also read *æft*.

I will limit my examination here to two words, the name *Gessus Kristtus* and the preposition *æft*, reserving a consideration of *Alcfripu* for a later place.

Gessus Kristtus.

Above the figure of Christ on the west face of the Bewcastle Cross are the runic letters spelling †*Gessu[s] Kristtus*.² The only perfect parallels to this with which I am acquainted are to be found on the censers from Hesselager and Kullerup, in Denmark. The former reads in runes, *Gesus Krist*, and the latter, †*Gesus Kri*. The former, and perhaps the latter, was made by one Jacob the Red. The spelling *Gesus*, according to the highest authority on the subject, Professor Wimmer, was a customary spelling at this period, the latest years of the 13th century.

Gesus er en almindelig skriftenmåde på denne tid ved siden af *iesus*.³
Sprog og runeformen viser at de må henføres til sidste halvdel af det 13 årh., nærmest det's slutning.⁴

The only English parallel to this use of *g* for *j* which I know of is on the Hawkswell Cross, where the inscription reads:

HAEC EST CRUX SCI JACOBI⁵

This must, of course, be comparatively late, unless the *3* be *I*, as one copyist read it.⁶

¹ *Die North. Runensteine*, p. 16.

² See p. 25.

³ Wimmer 4¹. 115.

⁴ Wimmer 4¹. 136-7.

⁵ Cf. Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 129, 218; Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, pp. 215-6.

⁶ See Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 217.

Æft.

Of the whole long inscription on the west face of the Bewcastle Cross, the word *aft*, or *æft*, can be read at least as certainly as anything else. It is not elsewhere to be found in English in the sense it bears here, 'to the memory of,' though *æfter* (-*ær*, -*ar*, -*e*) occurs, according to the customary readings, on the Dewsbury, Collingham, Yarm, and Thornhill stones in Yorkshire, and the Falstone stone in Northumberland, very near Bewcastle.¹ The lapidary inscriptions excepted, neither Old English, nor English of any later period, knows either *æft* or *æfter* in this sense.² On the other hand, these words, in a great variety of forms, are common in the commemorative runic stones of the Continent, and in those reared by Scandinavians in the Northern and Western Islands,³ and especially the Isle of Man.⁴ It is natural, then, to assume Scandinavian influence from the West as accounting for the use of *æft* in this sense on the Bewcastle Cross. Now as the Isle of Man approaches to within about 33 miles of the Cumberland coast, and its northern point is distant only about 70 miles from Bewcastle (55 or so from Ruthwell), it is from there that the influence is likely

¹ Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, pp. 127, 128, 129; Vietor, *Die North. Runensteine*, pp. 17, 19, 22; Plates 4. 10; 5. 13, 14; 7. 17-19; Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 211-2, 218; Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 205; Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 162. The inscription on the Yarm stone must, at least in its present form, be late, if the *y* of *ysetae* is correctly read (see the last reference); Canon Greenwell, however (*Catalogue*, pp. 112-5), following Skeat, reads *gi*, but says the character is indistinct.

² Neither the Bosworth-Toller nor the *New English Dictionary* recognizes this meaning.

³ Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. in Scotland*, p. xxviii; Allen, *ibid.* 3. 19, 37; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times* 2. 227 ff.; cf. Noreen, *Altisland. und Altnorw. Gram.*, pp. 15-16.

⁴ These stones are as follows: Andreas I (Kermode, *Catalogue of the Manks Crosses*, 2d ed., p. 35), Andreas III (p. 36), Andreas V (p. 37), Ballaugh (p. 37), Braddan I (p. 38), Braddan III (p. 40), Braddan IV (p. 41), Bride (p. 42), Conchan (p. 43), German II (p. 45), Michael I (p. 47), Michael III (p. 49), Michael IV (p. 51), Michael V (p. 52). Two typical inscriptions are these: Andreas III: 'Sontulf hin Suarti raisti krus þona aftir Arinbiaurk kuinu sina' (*Sandulf the Black erected this cross to the memory of Arinbjörg his wife*); Michael V: '† Iualfir sunr þurulfs hins Rauða risti krus þono aft Friðu muþur sino †' (*Joalf, son of Thorolf the Red, raised this cross to the memory of Friða, his mother*). Cf. Kermode, *Mank Crosses*. pp. 195, 201.

to have come.¹ The Manx stones in question are assigned to the years 1050–1100, or later.² Hence we gain an important *terminus a quo* for all the English stones bearing *æft* or *æfter* in this sense.

Æft Alkfripu is plain, but the words following are a little doubtful.³

ÆFTAL alle beschädigt, aber, wie ich glaube, vorhanden; *CFRI* (dies mit Nebenstrichen rechts? und vielleicht noch: = *ᚠ*? auf der Grenze) . . . *ᚠu* . . . (U? mit Querstrichen).⁴

IFTIR, *after*, preposition governing the accusative. The word is found with numerous variations on the Swedish, Danish, and Manx stones—*after*, *aft*, *aufst*, *eft*, *aftir*, *eftir*, *oftir*, *aiftir*, and *iftir* as in the present case.⁵

I samme Betydning forekommer *aft* i mange Runeindskrifter især fra 9de og 10de Aarh.⁶

The Northmen would seem to have made their way into western Yorkshire by way of Cumberland.⁷

Before the Normans came, our district [the diocese of Carlisle] was Scandinavian. . . . There is reason to believe . . . that Norse began to settle the western parts not much later [than 876], coming in from the Isle of Man and Ireland. . . . In the course of 200 years their descendants became leading landowners, as we see from Norse names in twelfth century records. The map (over leaf) sketches the probable distribution of races. Naturally, the art of the district must have been influenced by such people. . . . We have then remains in Man of a kindred race to ours in the age before the Normans came; and we find resemblances between the Manx crosses and some of ours both in subject and in style.⁸

¹ Cf. p. 102. Rousseau (*Annales de la Soc. Archéol. de Bruxelles* 16. 71) even conjectures, in allusion to the local tradition that the Ruthwell Cross had come by sea, that it may have been carved in the Isle of Man.

² Noreen (*Gram.*, p. 16) assigns the date 1050–1100; Kermodé (p. 1) says: 'The greater number appear to belong to the early part of the 12th century'; in the *Saga-book of the Viking Club* 1. 369, he says 1050–1150.

³ Collingwood, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 45.

⁴ Viator, p. 15. I may add that *æft* seemed to me, on an inspection of the stone on August 26, 1909, to be, if anything, the plainest word in the inscription.

⁵ Goudie, in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, N. S. 1. 152.

⁶ Bugge, *Norges Indskrifter med de Ældre Runer*, p. 33. See also Stephens, *Old-North. Runic Mon.*, passim.

⁷ E. A. Freeman, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 8. 283, note.

⁸ Collingwood, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 290–1, and map on pp. 292–3.

They [runic monuments] are restricted in Scotland to the area which was conquered and colonised by the Norsemen in the eighth and ninth centuries, comprehending the Isles of Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides, and Man.¹

According to the testimony of this word,² then, the form, if not Scandinavian, seems at least to point to Scandinavian influence, and to be late rather than early.³

C. Metrical Peculiarities.

We next come to the metre of the poetic fragments found on the Ruthwell Cross. This I have discussed, in comparison with the metre of the standard version of the poem excerpted (see p. 23), in the paper referred to above,⁴ with the result here summarized:

1. The poetic fragments have long lines, while the earliest Old English poetry—*Cædmon's Hymn*, *Bede's Death-Song*, the *Leiden Riddle*, and the *Bonifatian Proverb*—has only short lines.

2. The portions corresponding to lines 39–42 of *The Dream of the Rood* cannot be made to scan or alliterate properly, while the corresponding lines of *The Dream of the Rood* are unexceptionable in this respect, thus confirming in a general way the view of Sweet (*Oldest English Texts*, p. 125): 'The sculptor or designer of the Ruthwell stone, having only a limited space at his command, selected from the poem such verses as he thought most appropriate, and engraved them wherever he had room for them.'

D. Historical Subject-Matter.

Finally, we may consider the runic inscriptions with reference to historical subject-matter, premising that as the memorial high crosses of Ireland do not antedate the 12th century,⁵ as the

¹ Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 226-7.

² The word *Alefripu* points in the same direction; cf. pp. 42-43.

³ The two words, *ricæs Dryhtnæs*, which were read in 1615 on the head of a cross found at Bewcastle, were not necessarily on *our* cross (see p. 122, below); if they were, the only mark of age is -*æs*, and this, as I have shown (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 388), is no binding proof of early dates, Kluge quotes *li/æs* twice, and *dōmæs* once, from a brief MS. of 1050-1100, *Eng. Stud.* 8. 477), even if we disregard the possibility of copying from an earlier inscription (see above, pp. 11, 31).

⁴ *Op. cit.* 17. 375-381.

⁵ Cf. p. 54, note 3.

MAUGHAN'S



+ [TH]ISSIG:B[EA]CN:
[THU]N:SETTON:H
W[ÆT]RED:W[ÆTH]
GAR:ALWFOL
[THU]:AFT:ALCFRI
[THU]:EAN:CYN[ING]:
EAC:OSWIU[ING]:
+GEBID:HE
O:SINNA:SAW[HU]LA.

HAIGH'S



+ [TH]IS:SIGBEC
UN:SETTÆ:H
WÆTRED:WIT
GÆE:FLWOLD
U:ROETB[Æ]T:
UMÆ:CYN[ING]:
ALCFRI[TH]Æ:G
EGIDÆD:
HISSUM:SAULE.

(From Maughan, *Memoir*, p. 33.)



(From Haigh, *Conquest of Britain*.)

Fig. 33.

Danish memorial stones are of the 9th century and later,¹ and as those of the Isle of Man probably lie between 1050 and 1100, or later,² it is antecedently improbable that there should be such a memorial cross in the England of the 7th century.

First, as to the Ruthwell Cross. For some time it was supposed, on the testimony of George Stephens,³ that words which might be translated, *Cædmon me made*, were to be found near the top of the cross; but this was completely disproved by Viëtor⁴ in 1885, had it not been sufficiently discredited already by the impossibility of making any sense of the words supposed to stand there.

Next, as to the Bewcastle Cross. In 1857, Rev. John Maughan, who had previously⁵ come to quite a different result, interpreted the long inscription to mean⁶: '† Hwætred, Wæthgar, and Alfwold set up this slender pillar in memory of Alcfrid, *ane* king, and son of Oswy. † Pray thou for them, their sins, their souls.'

About the same time, Rev. Daniel H. Haigh, an antiquary of somewhat similar standing, rendered the same inscription thus: 'Hwætred, Witgær, Felwold, and Roetbert set up this beacon of victory in memory of Alcfrid. Pray for his soul.'⁷ This he afterwards revised to read: 'This memorial set Hwætred in the great pestilence year to Roetbert to King Alcfride. Pray for their souls.'⁸ A few years later, Haigh rendered⁹: 'This memorial Hwætred set and carved this monument after the prince, after the King Alcfrid; pray for their souls.'

George Stephens, the runologist, inclined to Maughan's version, and gave this rendering in his large work¹⁰: 'This spiring sign-pillar set was by Hwætred, Wothgar, Olufwolth, after Alcfrith, sometime king and son of Oswi. † Pray for his soul's great sin.'¹¹

¹ P. 32.

² P. 39, note 2.

³ See my edition of *The Dream of the Rood*, pp. xii ff.

⁴ *Die Norih. Runensteine*, p. 12.

⁵ *Archæological Journal* 11. 131-3.

⁶ *Memoir*, p. 18; see Fig. 33.

⁷ Maughan, *Memoir*, p. 33; see Fig. 33.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁹ *The Conquest of Britain* (London, 1861), p. 37; see Fig. 33.

¹⁰ *Old-North. Runic Mon.* 1. 402.

¹¹ Cf. Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 203; Collingwood, in *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 278.

These proper names, combined with others supposed to be read on other parts of the cross,¹ furnished materials for the hypothesis that the cross was erected in memory of Alcfrith, son of Oswy, a personage mentioned by Bede as belonging to the 7th century.²

Unfortunately, the readings upon which these interpretations repose will not bear the test of critical investigation, and we accordingly find them largely rejected by Viator, who has published the most scholarly account of these readings.³

The combinations and conjectures of Maughan and Haigh are thus seen, apart from their mutual contradictions, to fall to the ground, except for such support as they may derive from two or three proper names. Of a 7th century Hwætred nothing is known; one of ca. 701 was a nobleman of East Anglia,⁴ and another, abbot of Reculver in Kent, belongs to ca. 760. The name to which most importance has been attached is undoubtedly Alcfrithu, and, as Viator is strongly inclined to believe that it may be read upon the cross, I will examine it at some length.

Alcfrīpu.

Alcfrīpu, or *Alkfrīpu*, seems reasonably clear (see p. 39). If correctly read, it cannot, however, be masculine, as commonly assumed. Following *æft*, it should be an accusative; but the accusative of *Alcfrīp* would be the same as the nominative, unless it were Latinized, when it would be *Alcfridum*, not *Alcfrīpu*. It would be much easier to understand it as feminine, especially if we assume

¹ Thus Maughan says (p. 27) with reference to certain runes that he found on the south side: 'The four lines on this side of the Cross are evidently connected with each other, and are to be read thus:—"fruman gear Ecgfrithu kyninges rices thæs," — in the first year (of the reign) of Egfrid, king of this kingdom of Northumbria, i. e., A. D. 670, in which year we may conclude that this monument was erected.' Here Haigh read (Maughan, p. 37-8): 'Oswu Cyning elt Eanflad Cyniburug Ecgfrid Cyng;' that is: 'Oswy king the elder; Eanflæd; Cyniburug; King Egfrid.' Viator (pp. 15-16) can make nothing of these traces of letters. Any one who is disposed to verify the above results might attempt it on the basis of the photographs of the south face (see p. 27), reading what he can find on that border, beginning from below; thus above the lowest interlacing: †FRUMANGEAR (Maughan), or OSWUCYNINGELT (Haigh), etc. These runes can be read as well from the photographs as from the stone direct, I should say.

² *Hist. Eccl.* 3. 14, 21, 24, 25, 28; 5. 19; *Hist. Abb.* 2.

³ *Die North. Runensteine*, p. 16.

⁴ Cf. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, p. 309.

Norse influence, as we seem bound to do for *æft*. The *aft Friðu* of Kirk Michael V, among the inscriptions of the Isle of Man (see p. 38, note 4), will at once suggest itself. That such a feminine proper noun is not unexampled in the Germanic tongues is shown by Förstermann's¹ 41 Old High German feminines in *-frida* (besides 8 in *-is*), as against 220 masculines, the 3 instances of *Asfriðr* (fem.) which Wimmer finds² in Old Danish runic inscriptions, and the 11th century *Ecferð* [for *Ecgrith*], *Eadhunes dohter*³ of Old English. That there is no celebrated historic woman of this name does not militate against the conclusion that *Alcfridu*, if so we must read, is the name of a woman, and not of a man. All arguments for the 7th century, derived from an identification of the person named on the cross with the under-king of Deira, accordingly fall to the ground.

As the border between the two lowest panels on the north side of the Bewcastle Cross has been generally assumed to bear the name *Cynnburug* (or *Cyniburug*), I will touch briefly upon this name.

Cynnburug.⁴

Nicolson's letter in 1685 already records the form. Vietor is certain that he can read *Cyniburug*; but any one can see from the photograph that the letter just before the (angular) B is a vertical crossed by a bar, and not a mere vertical—hence an N, and not an I. *Cynnburug* is compounded of *cynn* and *burug*, and each of these may be examined separately.

As the first element of a compound, *Cyni-* is the predominant early form, followed by *Cyne-* and *Cyn-*. Thus in the early part of the *Liber Vitæ* (ca. 800) there are 114 instances of *Cyni-*, and only 7 of *Cyn-*, *Cyniburg* occurring three times (once also in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*). As to *Cyne-*, it appears as early as 692, but is much less frequent than *Cyni-* for a generation or so after this. *Cyn-* (in *Cynulfus*) is found in 758, but occurs far less frequently in the early period than the other two forms⁵. On the other hand, *cynn* is not only the prevailing form for the simple word in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* of ca. 950, but occurs three times in that text as the first element of compounds, while *cyn-* is found but once.

¹ *Althochdeutsches Namenbuch*, 2d ed., col. 527.

² Wimmer l. 35, 57, 63, 66; 4^a. xxxix.

³ Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* No. 925 (4. 263), Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 621; Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 275.

⁴ See p. 26.

⁵ Cf. F. Tupper, Jr., 'The Philological Legend of Cynewulf,' *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 26. 240 ff.

Cynn and *kynn* then occur, along with other forms, until the 16th century.¹

With *-burug* the case is even clearer. In the period covered by Sweet's *Oldest English Texts* it does not occur, save for a very few instances in the Namur manuscript of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in a Continental hand, with many later corrections, and, as Plummer² tells us, quite worthless for the settlement of the text. *Burug*, moreover, does not occur in the writings of Alfred. But again in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* it is the predominant form, occurring no fewer than 22 times. Afterward it continues, as *burug* and *buruh*, to appear down the centuries till the 14th, and finally becomes our modern *borough*.

It is evident, then, that both *cynn* and *burug* are comparatively late forms, which do not flourish till the 10th century, and persist long after that. Hence the form *Cynnburug* could not be expected till the 10th century at earliest, and then, if at all, in the North of England rather than the South.

2. LATIN

A. Forms of Letters.

If now we turn to the Latin inscriptions, we are to consider first the forms of the letters. Only C, G, O, and S call for any particular remark.

In the Latin inscriptions on the front and back of the Ruthwell Cross all the letters are capitals, with the exception of the G, which is of the minuscule form. The letters C, O, and S are of the angular shape; and the M is of the double H pattern, which occurs on the crosses at Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire, and in the early Hiberno-Saxon MSS.³

The lozenge-shaped, or diamond-shaped, O has sometimes been thought to indicate an early date. That it is found in manuscripts at a comparatively early period cannot be denied⁴; but Dr. G. F. Warner, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, refers me to an instance in the *Leabhar na hUidhre*, or Book of the Dun Cow, written by a man who died in 1106⁵; and other examples occur (the

¹ *New Eng. Dict.*

² *Bædæ Opera Historica* 1. lxxxvii.

³ Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, p. 448. The *Burlington Magazine* of June 15, 1912 has a plate (p. 145) of all the forms of Latin letters occurring on the Ruthwell Cross.

⁴ See Lethaby's remarks in *Burl. Mag.*, as above.

⁵ Cf. *Nat. MSS. of Ireland*, Part 1, No. xxxvii.

square C also at Piacenza) on panels in the cathedral of Piacenza (1122),¹ and on the gate of the monastery of St. Ursin at Bourges (ca. 1150).² The inscription on the Brussels reliquary, which Logeman³ assigns to about 1100, has various examples of the angular C, G, and O. There is therefore no necessity of postulating an earlier date on account of this peculiar O. In fact, according to Caumont, the lozenge-shaped O becomes more frequent in lapidary inscriptions the later the date within this period in France.

Plus tard, quelques altérations seulement s'introduisirent dans la forme de certaines lettres. Les o devinrent quelquefois carrés; les o approchèrent de la forme d'un losange.⁴

B. Language. — C. Metrical Peculiarities.

D. Historical Subject-Matter.

As to the language, metrical peculiarities, or subject-matter of the Latin inscriptions, there is almost nothing to be said. The spelling *natibitate*, for *nativitate*, occurs, but I do not know what bearing, if any, this has upon the question of date. There is no Latin verse; and the subject-matter is taken from the Gospel history or from early Christian legend, and so affords no clue.

II. THE FIGURE-SCULPTURE

The figure-sculpture embraces, as we have seen, figures or groups whose subjects are taken from the New Testament, one from early Christian legend, and two of the nature of *genre*. These need to be treated somewhat fully, and accordingly I have endeavored to show the relation of these figures or groups (with the exception of the healing of the blind man) to others which represent the same subject in the earliest Occidental sculpture with which I am acquainted.

The figure of Christ by himself has so much in common with that which is known as the 'Majesty,' that I deal with it under that head.

¹ Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* 3. 176-7. There are square C's in the inscription on the Church of St. James of the Rialto, Venice. Ruskin, who figures the inscription in his *Works* (Library Edition) 21. 269, wavers as to date (1073 in 24. 236-7: *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 35, 36; elsewhere (29. 98) he says 9th century, deferring to a Venetian antiquary.

² Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française* 8. 204.

³ *L'Inscription Anglo-Saxonne du Reliquaire de la Vraie Croix*, pp. 10, 11; cf. the facsimiles at the end of his volume.

⁴ *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 59.

1. SINGLE FIGURES OR GROUPS BELONGING TO THE GOSPEL STORY

A. John the Baptist with the Agnus Dei.

On the north face of the Ruthwell Cross is a figure of John the Baptist,¹ nimbed, wearing a long tunic and a mantle, and carrying a lamb, also nimbed; the similar figure on the Bewcastle Cross is without a nimbus.

Among the statues of the north porch of Chartres (before 1275) is one of John the Baptist with a lamb completely aureoled.² There is a similar one belonging to the 13th century in the west porch of the Cathedral of Rheims.³

The taloric tunic and the mantle are of assistance in determining the date. According to Bulteau, they are not found on figures of John the Baptist before the 10th century.

The nimbus is not, according to Didron, uniformly given to saints before the 11th century, and, beginning with the 12th, becomes a rude disk, instead of being 'fine and attenuate.'

Dans les monuments du V^e au X^e siècle Saint Jean-Baptiste n'apparaît que couvert d'un peau brute affectant la forme d'une tunique courte, jetée négligemment sur les épaules. Depuis le X^e siècle jusqu'au XVI^e Saint Jean est toujours vêtu de la tunique et du manteau selon le costume dit *apostolique*.⁴

The nimbus is not constantly figured around the head of saints, in monuments belonging to a period earlier than the eleventh century. . . . The nimbus, up to the twelfth century, was fine and attenuate. . . . During the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, the nimbus became more dense, narrower, and extending less beyond the head. . . . It was nothing more thenceforth than a rude disk, a kind of plate or sort of circular pillow painted or sculptured behind the head. It was a thick wall, not transparent glass.⁵

Allen attributes to the 13th and 14th centuries a somewhat similar figure of the Baptist.

¹ See p. 20; cf. p. 24.

² Bulteau, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres* 2. 182-3; *Marriage, The Sculptures of Chartres Cathedral*, p. 166.

³ Didron, *Christian Iconography* 1. 321-2.

⁴ Bulteau 2. 183-4, note.

⁵ Didron 1. 99-100.

St. John the Baptist is frequently represented in the art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, carrying a book or circular medallion with the Lamb of God upon it, to which he points.¹

Very significant is the statue on the trumeau belonging to the central doorway leading from the narthex into the abbey church of Vézelay, where the Baptist bears the lamb upon a medallion.

Sur la pile cannelée de ce trumeau se dresse la statue de saint Jean-Baptiste. . . . La tête nimbée du saint. . . . Devant lui le précurseur porte un disque où se voyait autrefois l'agneau pascal, image du Christ, et l'index de sa main droite, appuyée au rebord du médaillon, semble désigner cette image, comme l'indique l'inscription gravée sur le socle de la statue:

Agnoscant omnes quia dicitur iste Iohannes,
[Qui reti]net populum, demonstrans indice Christum.²

The date of the relief on the Ruthwell Cross can hardly, then, according to the indications, be earlier than the 12th century.

B. The Annunciation and the Visitation.³

The Annunciation and the Visitation are found, now together and now separate, in various 12th century buildings.

For the two at Moissac, in connection with other scenes from the Infancy, see p. 51. There is another Annunciation in the cloister, capital No. 39 (ca. 1140-60).

L'ange se tient debout [this is on the west face] devant Marie, vêtue d'une longue robe, d'une guimpe et d'un voile. Face sud; la Vierge se levant de son siège, fait un geste d'étonnement; un élégant édifice sépare cette scène de la Visitation.⁴

In the tympanum of the southern doorway leading from the narthex into the abbey church of Vézelay, the rectangular lower panel contains an Annunciation (the winged angel at the left); next, at the right, follows a house with a tower (interpreted by Porée as the residence of Zacharias at Hebron), and then the Visitation (the figure nearest the house, and facing to the right, is probably Elizabeth); then come the Shepherds and the Nativity; above,

¹ *Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 257.

² Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, p. 42. The trumeau belongs to a date earlier than 1135, probably (*ibid.*, p. 15).

³ See pp. 16, 18.

⁴ Anglès, *L'Abbaye de Moissac*, p. 72; cf. pp. 36, 61.

in the semicircular space, is the Adoration of the Magi.¹ This is the portal which has, on the capitals of the pilasters at the right, the archer shooting at the demon.² There seems to have been an Annunciation on the right hand pilaster of the central outer doorway of Vézelay.

L'inscription *SANCTA MARIA ET ANGELUS* se voyait en lettres romanes sur le pilastre de droite, ce qui a autorisé Viollet-le-Duc à y représenter une Annonciation.³

In the central lancet of the 12th century window at Chartres there are an Annunciation and a Visitation.⁴ They are also to be found among the statues of the north porch, but these date, according to Viollet-le-Duc, from 1245 to 1270. Then there is an upper window of the nave (Bulneau's No. 17) which has both the Annunciation and the Visitation.⁵ In the Visitation, Mary is seen opening her arms to receive Elizabeth, who places her right hand on Mary's shoulder, while her left expresses admiration mingled with astonishment.⁶ Still another Visitation is to be found among the capitals at the right of the left doorway of the west front, where, beginning at the right, there occur in succession the Visitation, the Nativity, the Awakening of the Shepherds, the Wise Men before Herod, and the Adoration of the Magi.⁷ But the most interesting, for our purpose, are another Annunciation and Visitation of the west front. These are found in the tympanum of the right doorway. This consists of two parallel rectangular panels, or lintels, with an arched panel, or tympanum proper, above. The lower lintel contains, from left to right, the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Announcement to the Shepherds; the upper lintel has the Presentation in the Temple; while the tympanum proper has a Madonna of Byzantine type, holding the Child on her lap, with an angel censuring on either side.⁸ Here, as at Vézelay,⁹ the series begins with a winged

¹ Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, pp. 38, 39; cf. Viollet-le-Duc 7. 437.

² See p. 61.

³ Porée, p. 22.

⁴ Bulneau, *Monographie* 3. 212.

⁵ 13th century, but before 1240 (Merlet, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 48, 53).

⁶ According to Bulneau (3. 224-5).

⁷ Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, pp. 52-3.

⁸ See the pictures in Marriage, pp. 69, 71; A. K. Porter, *Mediæval Architecture*, Ill. 215, Vol. 2; and cf. Bulneau 2. 72. For the Annunciation and the Visitation at Amiens, see Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 2. 147; for that at Rheims, see Porter 2. 303.

⁹ Note that Chartres, like Vézelay, formerly had a narthex (Marriage, p. 14).

angel at the left, facing the Virgin. In the Visitation, the Virgin is at the right, wearing a royal crown, and with a nimbus. The left arm of Elizabeth is passed round the Virgin, and the hand clasps Mary's arm above the elbow, while her right hand clasps the Virgin's left wrist, the latter's right hand being invisible. These statues must probably be dated ca. 1150-60.¹

Perhaps more important for the dating of the Ruthwell Visitation is that, or rather those, at St. Benoît-sur-Loire. At the left, just as one passes through the doorway leading from the narthex, the capital of the pillar bears an Annunciation, a Visitation, and a figure of Christ wearing a cruciform nimbus, and blessing with the right hand, while with the left he holds a book resting on his thigh.² Here, as at Chartres, the Annunciation is at the left of the spectator. In the Visitation, as in that at Ruthwell, the figure at the left has her right forearm extended horizontally, with the hand touching the other figure near the waist, while the left forearm of the figure at the right is nearly parallel to the other's, but above. The right arm of the figure at the right is passed round the figure at the left, and the hand clasps the other's right shoulder, whence I conclude that the figure at the right is Elizabeth, who would naturally be extending a welcome to Mary (see the Visitation of the west front of Chartres, above). Mary's sleeve is very wide above the wrist, and both Mary and Elizabeth wear long tunics and veils (compare Moissac and Chartres). This capital, it will be remembered, is to be dated by the narthex of which it forms a part—about 1170, according to Marignan.³ There is another Visitation on the capital of the last pillar of the choir at the left, as one faces the west.⁴ The two figures seem to be kissing, and the face of Mary, in particular, is therefore much more nearly in profile than in the Visitation of the narthex. The arms of Elizabeth (for so I interpret the figure at the left) are passed about the waist of Mary, with the hands nearly touching (in the other they approach each other at Mary's shoulder), while the left forearm of Mary is

¹ Cf. Marriage, pp. 14, 70.

² Cf. *Bulletin Monumental* 22. 115-6.

³ 'Une Visite à l'Abbaye de Fleury à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire,' *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 45 (1902). 84, note 2. For an engraving of this Visitation, see *Bull. Mon.* 22. 116.

⁴ Cf. *Bull. Mon.* 22. 130; and Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 176. Baum, *Romanesque Architecture in France*, p. 231, would date this and the preceding from about the beginning of the 12th century.

nearly parallel to Elizabeth's, but above it. The bodies are represented as very short, one might say squatty, and the knees project somewhat.¹

The analogies between the treatment of these 12th century groups and that of the corresponding subject on the Ruthwell Cross are too evident to be insisted on.²

According to Venturi's reproductions,³ the type of the Visitation at St. Benoît and Ruthwell occurs at least seven times in Italy, all the examples presumably belonging to the 12th century, besides three others in which the attitudes are different. The seven are respectively at Piacenza (Cathedral, architrave of left side-door of the façade),⁴ Ferrara (Cathedral, lintel of main portal),⁵ Fano (Archiepiscopal Palace, fragment),⁶ Padua (Santa Giustina, architrave of portal of the old monastery, now in sacristy),⁷ Alatri (Santa Maria Maggiore, sacristy),⁸ Monreale (Cloister, capital at north-east angle),⁹ and Gaeta (Cathedral, panel of candelabrum).¹⁰ Of these, that at Piacenza is, according to Venturi, by Wiligelmus¹¹; that at Ferrara, by Nicholas¹²; that at Fano, perhaps of the school of Nicholas; while those at Padua, Alatri, Monreale, and Gaeta are probably later. The three other examples are that at Nonantola (San Silvestro, jamb at right of portal),¹³ by Wiligelmus, that at Verona (San Giovanni in Fonte, font),¹⁴ and that at Benevento (Cathedral, bronze door dating from end of thirteenth century).¹⁵

C. The Flight into Egypt.¹⁶

The Flight into Egypt is not known in Christian art till the 10th century at earliest, and does not appear in the monuments before the 11th century.

The Flight into Egypt . . . belongs . . . to the regular series of the Life of Christ, which first make their appearance in Christian art in about the tenth or eleventh century. . . . The sculpture shows the Virgin and Child seated upon an ass, which is being led by Joseph. . . .

¹ The descriptions are from personal inspection on July 26, 1911, and from sketches made by my wife on the same day.

² If we may trust Bulteau (3. 163), Mary is always seated in the Annunciation till the end of the 12th century, while from 1150 to 1350 Mary and the angel are both standing. This is important in its bearing on the date of the Ruthwell Annunciation.

³ *Storia dell'Arte Ital.*, Vol. 3. ⁴ P. 175. ⁵ P. 190. ⁶ P. 276.

⁷ P. 339. ⁸ P. 385. ⁹ P. 629. ¹⁰ P. 649. ¹¹ See p. 144.

¹² See p. 144. ¹³ P. 169. ¹⁴ P. 228. ¹⁵ P. 687. ¹⁶ See p. 22.

I do not know of any miniature of the Flight into Egypt in the Irish or Celtic MSS., but the subject occurs in MSS., sculptured details of churches, and on ivories, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹

La fuite en Egypte ne paraît pas avoir été figurée dans les monuments avant le XI^e siècle.²

Italian representations of the 12th century occur at Aosta (Sant' Orso, cloister), Piacenza (Cathedral, architrave of right side-door of façade), Como (Civic Museum, capital), Verona (San Giovanni in Fonte, font), Fano (Archiepiscopal Palace, fragment from Cathedral), Parma (Baptistery, bas-relief), Alatri (S. Maria Maggiore, sacristy door), Gaeta (Cathedral, candelabrum), Benevento (Cathedral, door-panel), all figured by Venturi,³ except that at Aosta. Of these, none are of particular interest in this connection except those at Piacenza, Fano, and Gaeta, that at Piacenza being especially significant on account of its having been sculptured by Nicholas.⁴

There is a Flight into Egypt (and a representation of the fall of the idols in Egypt,⁵ as told in the apocryphal gospels) at the abbey of Moissac. This is found in connection with an Annunciation (the head of the angel is a bad modern restoration), a Visitation, an Adoration of the Magi, a Presentation at the Temple, and a Vision of Joseph, all dating from about 1180.⁶ It is also found sculptured

¹ Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, pp. 220, 222; he pictures the Flight on the Moone Abbey cross (p. 221), probably of the 12th century (cf. Rivoir, *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 255-7). Of manuscripts, Allen mentions Nero C. IV of the British Museum; of sculptured details, the capital of a column at St. Benoît-sur-Loire (see below); St. Maire a Toscanella, Italy, for which see Gailhabaud's *Architecture*, Vol. 2, Part 1; and the pulpit of San Michele at Groppoli, for which see *The Builder*, Dec. 10, 1881. Allen (p. 297) instances the font at Walton-on-the-Hill, near Liverpool, and one at Clonard Abbey in Ireland.

² Rohault de Fleury, *L'Evangile* (Tours, 1874) 1. 76.

³ *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 175, 207, 235, 277, 291, 385, 653, 687; cf. 3. 73, 204, 242, 243, 275, 316, 692.

⁴ See p. 144.

⁵ Cf. Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 221.

⁶ Anglès, *L'Abbaye de Moissac*, pp. 37, 41; cf. pp. 33, 34, 35; Viollet-le-Duc 7. 391. Anglès (p. 38) attributes to the Languedocian school of Moissac and Toulouse, in connection with the Burgundian school of Vézelay and Autun, an influence on the portals of St. Denis and Chartres (west front). This seems not improbable, in view of the fact that the 12th century stained glass of the middle lancet of the west front of Chartres has, according to Bulteau (*Monographie* 3. 212), the same scenes as those enumerated above, with the addition of the Nativity, the Awakening of the Shepherds, the Massacre of the Innocents, and the Return to Nazareth.

at St. Lazare d'Autun.¹ That at St. Benoît-sur-Loire is found in the third row of the narthex, and is the third from the left, as one faces the west front. It dates from about 1170, according to Marignan (see p. 49, note 3), who thus describes it: 'The Virgin is seated on a horse, and holds the child Jesus, whose feet rest on a footstool, and whose head is surrounded by a cruciform nimbus. It is no longer the representation of the child placed in his mother's lap; he is turned toward the left, and stands erect, extending his little hand toward Mary's right [really placing it, with two fingers in the act of blessing, and with palm opened outward, against her right shoulder], a gesture which only appears in the second half of the 12th century.'² The local guide-book,³ which is sometimes incorrect, interprets the animal as an ass, and adds that Joseph holds the reins with one hand (the left), and has a stick in the other.

On one of the storied capitals of the left doorway of the west front of Chartres Cathedral⁴ there is a Flight into Egypt which considerably resembles that at Ruthwell, so far as the position of the Virgin and the Child is concerned.

These are the nearest analogues I have been able to find to the representation of the same subject on the Ruthwell Cross. There, too, the Virgin faces outward; there, too, she is without a nimbus, while the child has one; and there, too, Joseph must have been originally figured, as is shown by the inscription, MARIA ET IO. The evidence, therefore, points to the 12th century for this panel, and to the second half of the century rather than the first.

D. The Anointing of Christ's Feet.⁵

The earliest representation of this subject, according to Rohault de Fleury,⁶ is in a manuscript of the 9th century, and the next in

¹ Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1^{re}. 643. The tympanum dates from about 1132 (Anglès, p. 38).

² *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 45 (1902). 297.

³ *Guide à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire* (Orléans, Imprimerie Paul Girardot, 1886). Here we are also told (*Guide du Pèlerin*, p. 15); 'En face [to the right], le roi Hérode, ou plutôt un de ses satellites, tenant un glaive nu à la main droite et une hallebarde sur l'épaule gauche, cherche l'enfant Jésus pour le faire mourir; et derrière ce groupe, l'archange Saint Michel terrasse le dragon infernal.' The group is figured (though not with perfect accuracy) in Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 175; cf. *Bull. Mon.* 22 (1856). 117.

⁴ Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 48; Bulteau 2. 43-44. For that at Amiens, see Ruskin, *Works* 33. 168 (plate).

⁵ See p. 17.

⁶ *L'Evangile* 2. 122.

one of the 11th century. Both of these show Christ seated at table, and both are of Byzantine origin.

The restored abbey church of Vézelay, dedicated to Mary Magdalen, has, on the lintel of the central doorway of the west front, the scene where she washes the feet of Christ.

A gauche, c'est la résurrection de son frère Lazare, puis c'est la visite chez Simon le lépreux où la pécheresse, étendue à terre devant lui, répand des parfums sur les pieds du Christ et les essuie de ses cheveux.¹

To be sure, this may be a restoration, but, if so, it is a restoration by Viollet-le-Duc, and according to indications afforded by the original sculpture.²

This is the only mediæval sculptured representation of the scene that I know of, besides that on the Ruthwell Cross, and this at Vézelay belongs to the years 1120—1135.

E. The Crucifixion.³

The first representation of the crucifixion in Roman painting belongs to the 7th century. It is rarely figured in sculpture in the 10th century, and does not become at all common till the 13th.

On peut attribuer au VII^e siècle . . . les peintures de la petite basilique cimetériale de Saint-Valentin. . . . La plus importante de ces fresques, pour l'iconographie chrétienne, est un grand Crucifix, jadis publié par Bosio. . . . Voilà, dans l'art chrétien romain, le premier exemple de l'image émouvante.⁴

In the tenth century crucifixes are occasionally seen.⁵

¹ Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, p. 22.

² I cannot make out whether the lintel has been restored or not. Porée says of the tympanum (p. 20): 'L'ancien tympan est maintenant déposé en dehors de l'église, contre le mur méridional. Au moment de la restauration, il était recouvert d'une épaisse couche de plâtre qui cachait la trace des bas-reliefs ravalés au nu de la pierre. Grâce à la teinte plus claire de la pierre, on put cependant en deviner quelques sujets qui ont inspiré la reconstitution de Viollet-le-Duc.' The author then describes, in a paragraph, the Last Judgment of the tympanum. He then proceeds (p. 22): 'Sur le linteau se déroulent des épisodes de la vie de la Madeleine.' The question is whether he reckons the lintel as part of the tympanum, which, of course, strictly speaking, it is not.

³ See p. 19.

⁴ Pératé, in Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1¹. 76; cf. Bréhier, *Les Origines du Crucifix dans l'Art Religieux*, pp. 57 ff.

⁵ Didron, *Christian Iconography* 1. 259.

On avait figuré très rarement le Christ en croix du VI^e siècle au X^e ; on le rencontre encore rarement dans les sculptures antérieures au XIII^e.¹

On dut, au XII^e siècle, sculpter le Christ sur quelques croix en pierre.²

There is no evidence whatever to prove that such sculpture as we find upon these High Crosses in Ireland was executed here before the tenth [rather, twelfth] century.³

The crucifixion . . . did not become common in sculpture—in Britain, at least—until after the eleventh century.⁴

¹ Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 173.

² Caumont 1. 232.

³ Margaret Stokes, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, p. 124. Miss Stokes shows (pp. 134-9) that, out of sixteen crosses whose iconography had been deciphered when she wrote, fourteen bore the image of the Crucifixion. She, however, dates the high crosses too early. Rivoira (*Lomb. Arch.* 2. 255 ff.) shows that none of the principal ones antedates the second half of the 12th century. He says (2. 257): 'They were the result of a national artistic revival produced by the renewal of relations with Western Europe after the long period of isolation in which Danish invasions and struggles, and disastrous internal conflicts, had plunged the unfortunate country. This revival, accordingly, was a reflex of the potent influence exercised by the art of Italy and by the Papacy, in the era following the epoch of 1000, on so many countries of both East and West. . . . So far as carving is concerned this revival cannot have become effective till considerably after the beginning of the XIth century.' Again he says (p. 256): 'The representations on the Cross of Muredach of pairs of animals facing one another and holding some creature or bird between their paws are undoubtedly due to Lombardic influence. Now this motive, of Etruscan origin, did not make a start in Italy before the XIth century. The date of the cross must therefore be put at the beginning of the second half of the XIIth century. To the same period and school belongs the other and more imposing cross at Monasterboice, about 27 ft. high, wrongly assigned to the Xth century.' As to the Tuam Cross, this was set up by Archbishop O'Hoisin, 1150-1161 (p. 256).

⁴ Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, p. lxvi. Rivoira recognizes a Cornish crucifixion of ca. 925-940 (2. 148); one from Durham as belonging to the 10th or 11th century (2. 162; cf. Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 82); one at Langford as of the last quarter of the 11th century (2. 193); and one at Romsey as belonging to the end of the 12th century (2. 193). Keyser (*List of Norman Tympana*, p. liii) mentions those at Langford and Romsey, which Enlart (Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 2. 202-3) unhesitatingly ascribes to the 12th century.

Anderson has shown that the Crucifixion, when occurring on Scottish crosses, is always late, belonging to his Class III. The appearance of the sun and moon, as on the Ruthwell Cross, indicates a date later than the 9th century.

The crucifixion occurs but rarely on the Scottish monuments with Celtic ornamentation, though it is a general feature of the high crosses of Ireland, and common on the later crosses of the West Highlands. It is a remarkable fact that the symbolism of the monuments of Class II., which always includes the cross itself in a decorated or glorified form, never includes the crucifixion, which only appears on a few of the later monuments of Class III. . . . From the ninth century the sun and moon usually accompanied the representations of the crucifixion, the sun being placed on the right and the moon on the left over the arms of the cross. . . . On the lower panel of the Ruthwell cross and at Craignarget in Wigtownshire the sun and moon appear as two orbs over the arms of the cross.¹

An important criterion of the age of a sculptured crucifix is the length of the tunic.

In the tenth century crucifixes are occasionally seen, but the countenance of the crucified Lord is gentle and benevolent; he is also clad in a long robe with sleeves, the extremities of the arms and legs only being uncovered. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the robe becomes shorter, the sleeves disappear, and the breast is already uncovered in some instances, the robe being scarcely more than a tunic. In the thirteenth century the tunic is as short as possible.²

Now on the Ruthwell Cross the left shoulder and part of the upper arm are bare, and the legs are bare from above the knee. Other characters point to the later period—the head inclined to the right, and the feet nailed separately.³ The 12th century, then, seems a probable date for this Crucifixion.

¹ Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, pp. XLVIII-XLIX. In his earlier work, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* (1881), Anderson had not recognized that the Ruthwell Cross bore the Crucifixion. He says (2. 234): 'The first panel contains a simple cross of plain Latin form.' Browne recognized it in his *Theodore and Wilfrith*, where he says (p. 245): 'At the bottom it is possible to see the crucifixion.'

² Didron I. 259, 260; cf. Caumont I. 173, 232-3, 241.

³ Cf. the Crucifixion of the 12th century, from the church of Lillers, figured in Caumont I. 173, and that in Lacroix, *Arts in the Middle Ages*, p. 474. Among paintings, the fresco of the lower church of San Clemente, at Rome, attributed to the 9th century, agrees in several important respects; it lacks the sun and moon, and has well defined figures of the Virgin and St. John, rising nearly to the arms of the cross.

F. The Majesty.¹

A figure of Christ, common in the 12th century, though also found at earlier and later periods, is called the Majesty. This is based upon Rev. 4. 2-8; 5. 1: 'Behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne. . . . And there was a rainbow round about the throne. . . . And round about the throne were four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting. . . . And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne. . . . And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind. And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle. And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him. . . . And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals.'

Certain early representations also make use of Rev. 5. 6, 7: 'Lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb. . . . And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne.'

The representations at various periods are sometimes fuller, sometimes modified or simplified. In the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (526-530) all these features appear: The Lamb; the book (roll) of seven seals open below; the seven lamps, or candlesticks; four angels; four beasts; twenty-four elders.²

A typical example may be found in the 12th century tympanum of the west front of Chartres (central doorway).

This is a 'Majestas Domini' or Glorification of Christ. . . . In the centre of the tympanum is Christ, with the Dove of the Spirit over His head; He is surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists: on the left the angel of St. Matthew and the winged lion of St. Mark, on the right the eagle of St. John and the winged bull of St. Luke. The waved band enclosing the group represents clouds. On the lintel are the twelve Apostles arranged in groups of three. . . . In the first order of the arch are twelve angels, and in the two other orders the twenty-four elders.

¹ See pp. (17), 21, 25.

² Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1¹. 71-2. Other early examples are: Basilica of St. Pudentiana, end of 4th century (Michel 1¹. 44, 45; cf. 41, 43); St. Paul fuori le Mura, 440-461 (1¹. 51); Catacomb of Generosa, 6th century (1¹. 74); Basilica of St. Valentine, 7th century (1¹. 76; cf. 1¹. 78).

At the top of the third order, two angels hold a crown over the head of Christ. There are faint traces of color in the tympanum; Durand in 1881 could perceive, near the border of clouds, parallel bands of color representing the rainbow (Rev. IV. 3) surrounding the throne of God.¹

Le Sauveur est vêtu de la tunique talaire et du manteau de l'antiquité; il a la barbe courte et les cheveux longs et plats. La tête, quoique endommagée, porte le caractère d'une douce gravité; elle est entourée du nimbe divin ou crucifère. . . . De sa main droite, il bénit les fidèles qui entrent dans le temple.²

The book is sometimes interpreted as that of the Gospels.³ At other times it is called the Book of Life.⁴ At St. Sophia, Constantinople, the open book bears the inscription: *Enter, I am the light of the world*; and similarly at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome: *Ego sum lux mundi*; while at St. Peter's it has: *Ego sum via, veritas, et vita; qui credit in me, vivet*⁵.

In the north porch at Chartres, the tympanum of the central doorway bears a Coronation of the Virgin, in which Christ is represented in the same attitude, and with the same attributes.⁶

Sometimes the infant Christ, in the lap of his mother, blesses with his right hand, and holds the book with his left.⁷

¹ Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 56; cf. Porter, Ill. 215, Vol. 2.

² Bulteau, *Monographie* 2. 57-8. Durand (*Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, p. 43) says that Christ is blessing the world, and that the book is that of the Gospels. Other examples of about the same period are at Moissac (Viollet-le-Duc 7. 391); St. Genest at Nevers, ca. 1150 (7. 395-6); Notre Dame du Port at Clermont (7. 400-401); St. Urbain at Troyes (7. 428); St. Pierre at Mella (7. 401); St. Trophime at Arles (7. 418); Cahors (8. 132); Bourges (Porter, Ill. 267, Vol. 2). Several examples are noted by Michel (1^a. 517, 614, 619, 871; cf. Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 141, and Plate A), and Keyser (*List of Norman Tympana*, pp. LX-LXVII) counts twenty-one examples, of which nineteen are figured in his book, one of the earliest being at Castor, in a church dedicated in 1124. The tympana with the Majesty at Ely, at Barfreston, and at Rochester, are, according to Enlart (Michel 2. 204), works parallel to those of the French portals, and themselves proceed from a Continental inspiration.

³ Cf. note 2, and Viollet-le-Duc 9. 365-6.

⁴ Cf. Marriage, p. 238.

⁵ Bulteau 2. 58.

⁶ Marriage, p. 152; Bulteau 2. 189.

⁷ Thus in the Oratory of John VII, 705-7 (Michel 1^a. 77); the Baptistry of St. Valerian at Rome, 9th century (Viollet-le-Duc 9. 365); Santa Maria in Domnica, 9th century (Michel 1^a. 84); Notre Dame at Paris, ca. 1140 (Viollet-le-Duc 9. 365-6); Fownhope, England (Keyser, p. 1, and Fig. 89).

Finally, Christ, with the same attributes and in the same attitude, is sometimes found as an isolated figure (designated by some as Christ-Man, or Christ teaching). Typical figures of this sort are those on the trumeau of the central door of the south porch at Chartres, and the corresponding Beau Dieu of Amiens—a type not fully adopted till the 13th century.¹ Marriage thus describes the figure at Chartres: 'On the trumeau is a magnificent statue of Christ (plate 109); His right hand is raised in blessing, His left holds the Book of Life. He is standing on a lion and a dragon—the two usually selected from the four animals of Ps. XCI. 13: 'Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem.'² The earliest example of this seems to be an ivory statuette of the 10th century.³

There are three Christs, of the general type last described, on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, one of them being in the panel which depicts the anointing of Christ's feet. In the group of the anointing, Christ carries a book in his left hand; in the other case, a roll. The Bewcastle figure has a roll. The faces of the Ruthwell Cross are bearded; that of the Bewcastle beardless. All the heads have the cruciform nimbus, and the hair is long in all three, but the arrangement of the drapery differs. The beasts seem somewhat better defined on the Bewcastle Cross; they have been called swine in both cases, but may they not be rude animal-heads, intended to represent those of Ps. 91. 13, but not well wrought, and further defaced by exposure to the elements? The type of the isolated figure can hardly have been created in monumental sculpture before the 12th century.

2. GROUPS BELONGING TO CHRISTIAN LEGEND

Christian legend is represented by the one group of Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony.

Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony.⁴

On two capitals of the abbey of Vézelay were sculptured, about the year 1135, scenes from the life of Paul, the first hermit (228–345), and Anthony, the father of monachism (251–356). On one, a pillar of the narthex, is depicted what is believed to be the meeting of the

¹ Viollet-le-Duc 3. 246; cf. p. 240.

² At Amiens all four animals are shown; cf. Ruskin, *Works* 33. 146.

³ Didron, *Christian Iconography* 1. 298. Allen finds a Norman one on a slab built into the tower of New Malton Church, Yorkshire (*Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 275).

⁴ See p. 22, and cf. p. 131, note 7, end.

two, according to the account given by St. Jerome in his *Lives of Saints*.¹ Two persons, facing each other, are pulling with both hands at a sort of flat slab, supposed to represent the cover of the cavern where Paul dwells. In a sort of cupboard below are vases and jugs, which suggest the scanty furniture of the grotto.² This is the interpretation of Porée, but the supposed slab is much more likely to be a flat cake of bread, such as is figured on the Ruthwell Cross, where the words of the inscription, SCS PAULUS ET A . . . FREGER . . T PANEM IN DESERTO, make the interpretation of the circular disk clear and conclusive. On any other hypothesis it is hard to see why the two men should be pulling in opposite directions, as Porée writes: 'D'un geste semblable, deux personnages qui se font face tirent à eux, à deux mains, une sorte de dalle plate. Ce serait la pierre fermant la caverne de Saint Paul.'

On the seventh pillar of the northern side of the nave is represented the death of Paul. The legend recounts that lions dug his grave, and here they are depicted as scratching the ground with their paws. Above them is the corpse of the hermit, nearly invisible in a sort of mummy-case, and Anthony, near, is in the attitude of prayer.³

Besides these, where both men figure, Anthony alone is represented, on both the north and the east faces of the eighth pillar (next to the one just described), as suffering various torments at the hands of demons.⁴

The scene depicted on the pillar of the narthex represents the same act as that depicted on the Ruthwell Cross (see above), and it is significant that the former belongs to about 1135.⁵ The influence of Vézelay may have been transmitted, through one or another channel, to Ruthwell; it is inconceivable that the Ruthwell Cross should have influenced Vézelay; and the representations on the Irish and Scottish stones are much ruder.⁶

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 23. 17.

² Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, p. 37.

³ Porée, p. 60, where a picture is given.

⁴ Porée, p. 61.

⁵ The narthex was constructed after the nave (Porée, p. 15)—the nave by 1110, the narthex between 1120 and 1135; but the capitals of the nave were sculptured at the same time as those of the narthex (Porée, p. 56).

⁶ Irish: on the cross in the street, Kells; on the cross of St. Patrick and St. Columba, Kells; on the south-east cross, Monasterboice; on the Moone Abbey cross; on the cross of Castle Dermot; and on the cross at Ardboe (Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, p. liv, note 4; cf. Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, pp. 224-5).

3. *GENRE-SUBJECTS*

Under *genre*-subjects we may class the archer of the Ruthwell Cross and the falconer of the Bewcastle Cross, though the former should perhaps rather be considered as a Biblical subject, since it appears to have been introduced with symbolical intent, and to represent the slayer of an evil power.¹ The falconer with his hawk incidentally raises the question of the date at which this sport was introduced into England.

A. The Archer.²

The archer, not to speak of the Sagittarius, is sometimes found in France and England,³ in the architectural sculpture of the 11th and 12th centuries. Thus in the southern doorway leading inwards from the narthex (1120–1135) of the Cluniac abbey church of Vézelay, there is, on one pilaster, a serpent with a woman's head, emerging from foliage, and on the other an archer taking aim at her with his bow. The serpent is interpreted by Viollet-le-Duc⁴

Scotch: Nigg; Kirriemuir; St. Vigeans (Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, pp. 224–5; Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. liv; Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, 3. 76, 227, 268). Anderson says (p. lv.): 'It is not difficult to account for the special veneration of St. Paul, the first hermit, and St. Anthony, the father of monasticism, in the Scottish and Irish Churches, in whose constitution the eremitical and monastic modes of ecclesiastical life were so closely interwoven.' To this explanation may be added the fact that the story of the two is contained in the present Roman Breviary under January 15. The earlier day for Paul was January 10, and this assignment is found as early as Bede's *Martyrologium Poeticum* (*Misc. Works*, ed. Giles, l. 50; cf. 4. 21); also in the *Old English Martyrology* (ed. Herzfeld, E. E. T. S. 116. 17), and in the calendars printed by Hampson in his *Medii Aevi Kalendarium* (pp. 397, 422, 435, 449), all not far from the year 1000. None of these, however, except the *Old English Martyrology*, refers to the meeting of Paul and Anthony. Cf. p. 131, note 7, end.

¹ The falconer is sometimes introduced into the labors of the months associated with the representations of the zodiac, so common in mediæval cathedrals. Thus on the west front of Chartres, on the left side of the arch of the left doorway (Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 32), where May is represented by 'a horseman holding his horse by the bridle, and having a hawk on his wrist.' See also on the left side of the arch of the right bay of the north porch (Marriage, p. 176), 'a man with a hawk on his wrist.'

² See p. 16.

³ A capital of about 1150, from the church of San Salvatore at Brescia, is figured by Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 217.

⁴ 7. 438; cf. Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, p. 40, and see also pp. 37, 44, 48, 69.

as the devil ; and the archer must accordingly represent an agent of good, engaged in slaying the power of evil.

One of the capitals of the narthex of the Benedictine abbey church of St. Benoît-sur-Loire, or Fleury, exhibits an archer riding on a horse, and bending his bow at the figure of a man. This is interpreted by Crosnier¹ as referring to Rev. 6. 2 : ' And I saw, and behold a white horse : and he that sat on him had a bow ; and a crown was given unto him : and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.' This archer, again, must be conceived as an agent of good. According to Marignan, this is proved to be of the second half of the 12th century by the form of the bow.

Puis, ce sont des chapiteaux où se trouvent des cavaliers : l'un d'eux tient à la main un arc dont la forme, ainsi que celle de l'épée de ses compagnons, correspond à la même époque.²

In the tympanum of the north doorway of Ribbesford Church, Worcestershire, is ' an archer shooting an arrow at a monster from which a fawn is escaping.'³ Finally, there is an archer, a youthful, naked figure, on a wall-slab from Hexham, which Greenwell thinks⁴ ' may possibly have proceeded from the artists whose handicraft or influence is shown on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses.'

¹ *Bull. Mon.* 22 (1856). 123-5 ; see the engraving on p. 123, and Caumont, *Abécédairé d'Archéologie* 1. 177.

² Marignan, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 45 (1902). 300. Marignan maintains that no part of the narthex can be of the 11th century, and that the evidence points to the second half of the 12th century. Thus he argues that the costume (' cotte courte descendant jusqu'aux genoux, serrée à la taille par une ceinture,' p. 295) points to this epoch. Then the monks wear a tunic and a mantle provided with a hood, the priests are clad as in the seals of the period, a knight is dressed as on the Bayeux tapestry (p. 295). The same is true of the costume of the Virgin in the Annunciation and the Visitation of the pillar on the left as you leave the narthex for the church. That in the Visitation resembles those worn by the women of the nobility on seals of the second half of the 12th century (p. 297). One pillar, the next to the left-hand corner on the western face, bears the inscription: *Umbertus me fecit*; this is another important indication of the date, since such signatures belong only to the period mentioned, as witness the façade of St. Giles, the chapter-house door (*porte capitulaire*) of St. Stephen at Toulouse, etc. Still another indication is the inclusion of scenes from everyday life, in place of confining the representations to purely religious subjects (pp. 303, 305). Everything, according to Marignan, points to a date not far from 1170.

³ Keyser, *List of Norman Tympana*, p. 37 ; cf. p. XLIII, and Fig. 68.

⁴ *Catalogue*, p. 46, note 1 ; p. 64.

The Sagittarius is sometimes found in the tympana and archivolts of French churches of the period,¹ as well as in the zodiacs rather frequently employed for ornamental purposes. He also appears on various tympana of Norman churches in England. Thus at Kencott, Oxfordshire, he is 'discharging an arrow into the jaws of a dragon.'² At Stoke-sub-Hamden, Somersetshire, he is shooting an arrow at a lion.³ 'On the font at Dareuth, Kent, Sagittarius is facing a dragon, and on the point of discharging his arrow, while on a capital of the chancel arch at Adel, Yorkshire, he is aiming at the head of a similar monster, and a smaller dragon is attacking him from behind. On two stones let into the south wall of the nave of Eastham Church, Worcestershire, are sculptured representations of Sagittarius and Leo. On the font at West Rounton, Yorkshire, Sagittarius is discharging his arrow at the head of the "savage man," according to the interpretation of Mr. J. Romilly Allen, "Early Christian Symbolism," p. 361.'⁴

On the edge of a panel of the Halton Cross, Lancaster, is a figure of an archer, 'shooting upwards toward the cross-head'⁵; and there is a Sagittarius on the Camuston stone in Scotland, shooting obliquely upwards to the right, and above him a Crucifixion. On the other side is Christ in Majesty, with two angels, and below four saints, probably the Evangelists, with books.⁶

¹ Caumont 1. 185, 189.

² Keyser, p. 23; cf. p. XL, and Fig. 70.

³ Keyser, p. 46; cf. p. XL, and Fig. 69.

⁴ Keyser, p. XL. Cf. Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, pp. 362-364: 'In the deserts of India there are savages who have one horn in the middle of the forehead. . . . The savages make war on the Sagittarii, and the Sagittarii on them. The war between the savages and the Sagittarii signifies the contest between the soul and the flesh. . . . Sagittarius is represented in the illustrations of the bestiary, as on the signs of the Zodiac, half horse, half man, shooting with a bow and arrow at a savage clothed in a lion's skin, having a horn on the top of his head. . . . In other cases Sagittarius is contending with a lion, or a dragon. . . . On the tympanum of the west doorway of Ault Hacknall Church in Derbyshire is a very remarkable figure of a centaur with a nimbus round the head, holding a branch in its right hand and a cross in the left. Facing the centaur is a huge beast followed by a small animal.' There are illustrations of the Sagittarius on pp. 229, 234, 255, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365. On the centaur cf. Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, p. XLV.

⁵ *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 189-90.

⁶ Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 252.

'The great cross in Bakewell Churchyard has at the bottom of all a man with a bow, taking aim at the little creature nibbling the fruit at the top. At Bradbourne in Derbyshire there are the fragments of a cross equally noble with that at Bakewell; and there again on more than one side is a man at the foot taking aim at the squirrels or little foxes in the tree or vine. The great cross shaft at Sheffield has remarkable examples of the same kind.'¹ The cross at Auckland (see p. 82) has 'the upper part of a human figure, the upraised hands of which hold a bow and arrow, pointed at one of the animals.'²

Everything would seem to indicate, then, that both archer and Sagittarius³ are represented as in conflict with the powers of evil; that on the Ruthwell Cross, as well as on those at Bakewell and Bradbourne, the archers are aiming at the animals (not the birds) in the vines (probably with reference to Song of Sol. 2. 15, 'Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines'); and that all these examples of the archer, like those of the Sagittarius, belong to the 11th and 12th centuries.

B. The Falconer.⁴

Authorities are now agreed that falconry was introduced into Europe from the East.⁵ Accordingly, as may be supposed, it was introduced into England from the Continent. There is no mention of falcons in England before the second third of the 8th century. At this time, and even in the middle of the century, there were very few trained hawks even in Kent, the part of England most accessible from the Continent, while there they must have been comparatively numerous, as shown by the mention of them in the Germanic laws of even the 5th to the 7th century,⁶ and by the decree of the Germanic Council in 742 that priests were not to possess hawks or falcons.⁷ Somewhere between 732 and 751, Boniface, the apostle

¹ Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 192. ² *Victoria Hist. Durham* 1. 218.

³ Not, of course, as a sign of the zodiac; on representations of this see Fowler, 'Mediæval Representations of the Months and Seasons,' *Archæologia* 44. 137-224; Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIII^e Siècle en France*, pp. 89-103; and cf. *Un Manuscrit Chartrain du XI^e Siècle* (Chartres, 1893), p. 9 where one of the 11th century is described (these being rare). There are five zodiacs figured at Chartres alone.

⁴ See p. 25. Cf. the birds on the top-stone of the Ruthwell Cross.

⁵ Harting, *Bibliotheca Accipitraria*, p. xiii.

⁶ Brockhaus, *Konversations-Lexikon*, 14th ed., 2. 652.

⁷ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 89. 807: 'et ut accipitres et falcones non habeant.'

of Germany, sends a hawk and two falcons as a present to Æthelbald of Mercia ; and between 748 and 755, Æthelbert of Kent begs Boniface to send him two falcons that could bring down cranes, since there are very few in Kent which produce young fit for this purpose, or that are trained to be at once swift and bold.

Interea pro signo veri amoris et devotæ amicitiae direximus tibi accipitrem unum et duos valcones (*var. falcones*), duo scuta et duas lanceas (*var. lanceas*).¹

His itaque breviter summatisque prelibatis, unam rem preterea a vobis desidero mihi exhiberi, quam vobis adquirere valde difficile esse, juxta quod mihi indicatum est, nullatenus reor ; hoc est duos falcones, quorum ars et artis audacia sit : grues velle libenter captando arripere et arripiendo consternere solo. Ob hanc etenim causam de harum acquisitione et transmittendarum ad nos avium vos rogamus, quia videlicet perpauci hujus generis accipitres in nostris regionibus, hoc est in Cantia, repperiuntur, qui tam bonos producant fœtus et ad supradictam artem animo agiles ac bellicosi educantur ac doceantur.²

In the *Confessional* of Egbert, Archbishop of York (d. 766), there is a passage in which he includes among birds that may not be eaten such as have been bitten by a hawk (*nē þēah hafucfugel ābīte*).³

In the poem of *Beowulf* (2263), there is a reference to the hawk : ' There is no joy of harp, no mirth of the gleewood, *no good hawk swinging through the hall*, no swift horse beating with his hoof the courts about the hall.' ⁴

The date of the *Fates of Men* is conjectural, but it cannot be earlier than 800. It has a passage of eight lines (85–92) on the taming of a hawk : ' One shall tame a wild, proud bird, a hawk in the hand, until this swallow of fight becomes gentle ; he puts jesses on, and so feeds in bonds the proud of pinion, enfeebles with small morsels the wind-swift one, until the peregrine becomes docile to its feeder in furnishings and deeds, and wonted to the young man's hand.' There is a single line about the hawk in the *Crafts of Men* (80–81).

The next mention is by Cœnwulf of Mercia, who in 821, after reciting his gifts of lands to the monastery of Abingdon, forbids any proud man or king, having under him men with hawks or falcons, horses or dogs, to molest the monks in any way.

¹ Boniface to Æthelbald of Mercia, 732–751 ; Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. Germ.* 3. 213.

² Æthelbert of Kent to Boniface, 748–755 : Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. Germ.* 3. 256.

³ Thorpe, *Anc. Laws and Inst.*, folio ed., p. 358.

⁴ *Beowulf*, tr. Tinker, rev. ed., p. 105.

Et mandatum mandamus . . . ut nullus superveniat hominum superbia inflatus, nec rex suum pastum requirat, vel habentes homines quos nos dicamus festi[n]gmen, nec eos qui accipitres portant vel falcones, vel cavallos ducunt sive canes nec poenam mittere super eos quoquomodo audeat.¹

Of Alfred we are told that, during his reign (871–901), he was wont to instruct his hawkers and falconers in their business.

Interea tamen rex . . . omnem venandi artem agere, aurifices et artifices suos omnes et falconarios et accipitrarios canicularios quoque docere . . . non desinebat.²

In the 10th century, notices are more numerous. Thus King Æthelstan (d. 940) procures from North Wales 'birds that know how to hunt the prey of other birds through the void'; Byrhtic and Ælfswith, of Meopham in Kent (ca. 980), give to their 'natural lord' two hawks and all their hunting-dogs; and Æthelwine, the founder of Ramsey Abbey, in Huntingdonshire, gives the monks (ca. 974) the island which he had found convenient for his favorite sports of hunting and fowling (hawking not expressly mentioned, but probable).

Ipee in effectum formavit, ut ei nomine vectigalis annuatim . . . annumerarent . . . volucres quæ aliarum avium prædam per inane venari nossent.³

Ærest his cynehläforde ænne bēah on hundeahtotigum mancysum golde; and ān handsees on eal swā miclum; and fēower hors, twā gerædede; and twā sword gefetelsode; and twēgen hafocas; and ealle his hēahdēor-hundas.⁴

Primo scilicet [he gave to the church of Ramsey] Insulam ipsam, ubi Xenodochium constructum est, cum adjacentibus maris et stagnis. . .

¹ *Cod. Dipl.*, ed. Kemble, 1. 270.

² Asser, *Life of King Alfred* 76 (ed. Stevenson, p. 59); cf. my translation, p. 38. There are representations of hawking-scenes in certain Old English manuscripts. Strutt figures one in his *Sports and Pastimes* (1801), opp. p. 32, and a scene from a calendar of the months in *Horda Angelcynnian*; the manuscript from which the former is derived (Cott. Julius A. VI) is assigned by Strutt to about 900.

³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* 2. 134 (ed. Stubbs, 1. 148).

⁴ *Cod. Dipl.*, ed. Kemble, 2. 380; cf. 6. 53.

Quia enim locus et nemoribus consitus et mariscorum paludibus erat vicinus, frequenter ibi in venatu et aucupatione [vel aucupio] spatium morabatur.¹

About the same date a priest was forbidden by the Canons of Edgar to be a hunter or a hawkker (*hunta nē hafecere*).

In the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (ca. 1000), there is a conversation between the teacher and a falconer, in which the latter says that he knows how to tame a hawk, that he will give one in exchange for a swift dog, that they feed themselves and him in the winter, that he lets them escape in the spring and catches nestlings in the autumn, and that he will not follow the example of those who feed their hawks the summer through, since he finds it easier to catch them as he needs them.²

Of Edward the Confessor (d. 1066) we are told that he delighted in the coursing of swift dogs, whose barkings he would cheer on, and also in the flight of birds whose nature it is to make prey of their kindred birds. In the Bayeux Tapestry, Harold is depicted as riding to meet William the Conqueror with hawk on wrist.

Unum erat quo in seculo animum oblectaret suum, cursus canum velocium quorum circa saltus latratibus solebat lætus applaudere; volatus volucrum quorum natura est de cognitis avibus prædas agere.³

With the coming of the Normans, hawking, like all forms of hunting, grew to be a passion with kings and the highest nobility, and so continued for several centuries. So fully was it reserved for them that hawks 'were considered as ensigns of nobility; and no action could be reckoned more dishonourable to a man of rank than to give up his hawk.' 'Persons of high rank rarely appeared without their dogs and their hawks; the latter they carried with them when they journeyed from one country to another, and sometimes when they went to battle, and would not part with them to procure their own liberty when taken prisoners.'⁴

Ecclesiastics were not averse to either the sport or the distinction. As we have seen above, they had to be enjoined at intervals to have nothing to do with falconry. Nevertheless, we are told that when

¹ *Chron. Abb. Rames.*, ed. Macray (Rolls Series), p. 52.

² Wright's *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, ed. Wülker, 1. 95-96; tr. in *Select Trans. from Old Engl. Prose*, ed. Cook and Tinker, pp. 181-2. The word for 'hawk' occurs here and there in the Old English glossaries.

³ William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Reg. Angl.* 2. 220 (ed. Stubbs, 1. 271).

⁴ Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 18; cf. *Piers Plowman* B 6. 33.

Thomas à Becket (d. 1170) was sent from Henry II as ambassador to France, he assumed the state of a secular potentate, and took with him dogs and hawks of various sorts, such as were used by kings and princes.¹ It is not surprising, then, that when Walter, the Steward, in the time of Alexander II of Scotland (1214–1249), is enlarging the grant of forest on the banks of the Water of Ayr to the monks of Melrose, he gives them all forest-rights with the express exception of hunting or taking falcons in the forest, because, as he says, that is neither becoming for their order nor expedient for them.²

Among the appurtenances of the falconer was a stout pole. As it was the custom to carry the falcon upon the left hand, the pole was usually carried in the right.³ The use of this pole is thus described by Strutt: 'In following the hawk on foot, it was usual for the sportsman to have a stout pole with him, to assist him in leaping over little rivulets and ditches, which might otherwise prevent him in his progress.'⁴ The pole, as I am informed by Mr.

¹ William Fitz Stephen, quoted by Strutt, p. 9. Falconers are sometimes found represented under May in the labors of the months (see p. 60, note 1, above). Thus at Chartres, on the left side of the left arch of the left doorway of the west front, there is a horseman holding his horse by the bridle, and having a hawk on his wrist (Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 32); and on the left side of the arch of the right bay of the north porch, there is a man with a hawk on his wrist (Marriage, p. 176). At Amiens, on the plinth of the northernmost doorway of the west front, there is a gentleman standing with a hawk upon his fist (Fowler, p. 160). In the floor of one of the chapels of the abbey church of St. Denis there is a man on horseback, with a hawk on his fist (Fowler, p. 167; Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire*, article *Dallage*). At Padua, in the great hall, there is a man holding by the left hand the trunk of a tree, and by the right a hawk or other bird (Fowler, p. 176). Other representations are on a leaden Norman font at Brookland, Kent (Fowler, p. 145), and on a misericord in the choir of Worcester Cathedral (Fowler, p. 164). Cf. p. 70, note 1.

² Veitch, *History and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, p. 170, who quotes *National MSS.* 1. liii.

³ Thus we see it figured in the pictures of Peter Ballantine (1798–1884), 'the last of the old Scotch falconers' (opp. p. 42 of Harting's *Bibliotheca Accipitraria*; opp. p. 217 of Cox and Lascelles' *Coursing and Falconry*; in the 'English Falconers of the XVII Century' (opp. p. 26 of Harting); and perhaps in the 'Heron-hawking at the Loo in 1717' (Harting, opp. p. 48).

⁴ *Sports and Pastimes*, pp. 23–4. Cf. the following passage from Hall's *Chronicle*, under the 16th year of Henry VIII, s. f. (ed. of 1809, p. 697): 'In this yere the kyng folowing of his hauke lept ouer a dicke beside Hychyn,

J. E. Harting, the authority on falconry, would also be used 'for beating the flags and sedges round pools where wild fowl are expected to be lurking. In that case, the pole would be somewhat shorter and lighter than would otherwise be required.' Such a pole is figured on the Bewcastle Cross, and is contributory proof that the bird is intended for a falcon.

A T-shaped perch—known as a crutch-perch—though not now commonly used, is occasionally found.¹ Michell says (p. 48): 'Probably for an eagle it is the best resting-place that could be provided' (cf. p. 37). If this is true, it may be inferred that the bird of the Bewcastle Cross is one of the larger kind, probably a gerfalcon.

The peregrine falcon is even now to be found in Cumberland. Says H. A. Macpherson (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 195): 'The bird itself is not excessively rare. On the contrary, it is often to be seen by any one who can identify a highflying hawk in the distance. . . . The female feeds partly on grouse.'²

As to falconry in Cumberland, we are told that 'scattered references to the sport are met with in the old registers and rolls.' Thus,

with a pole and the pole brake, so that if one Edmond Mody, a foteman, had not lept into the water, and lift up his hed, whiche was fast in the clay, he had been drowned.' To a similar effect is Drayton's *Polyolbion* 20. 239-242:

But when the Falconers take their hawking-poles in hand,
And crossing of the brook, do put it over land,
The hawk gives it a souse, that makes it to rebound,
Well-near the height of man, sometime above the ground.

Holland, in his translation of Pliny 16. 36 (66), misunderstands the Latin, but his use of the term 'hawking-pole' seems to bear out Strutt's view: 'Now during the ninth year . . . these canes prove so bigge and strong with all that they serve for hawking-poles, and fowlers pearches.'

¹ See Michell, *Art and Practice of Hawking*, No. 22, opp. p. 46. From about 1260 dates the *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus* of the Emperor Frederick II, and among its miniatures are three representations of T-shaped perches braced at the ends (seven perches in all). These are figured by Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 762-4.

² Black grouse is 'a resident species, very local in the north and west of the county, but fairly plentiful in the east and north-east between Alston and Brampton' (*ibid.*, p. 204). Red grouse is 'a resident in small numbers on mosses near the coast, becoming more abundant when the fells are reached. . . . An old hen shot near Bewcastle on October 5th, 1895, has the usual markings' (*ibid.*). 'The fells of the Pennine range . . . present even greater attractions to red grouse (*Lagopus Scoticus*) and black grouse (*Tetrao tetrix*)' (*ibid.*, p. 179).

“ while Sir William Lenglis, knight, was hunting in the neighborhood of Brunstock, in the autumn of 1360, he set his falcon to flight, but the bird disappeared from view and did not return.” . . . Raughton near Dalston was a celebrated eyry in the twelfth century. . . . “ The vill of Ratton [Raughton] is a serjeanty to keep the hawks’ eyries of the lord the King, and is worth 100s. a year.”¹ Ailred says that when Hexham was renovated about the beginning of the twelfth century, the whole place and neighborhood were deserted, and the re-founder of the church maintained himself and his family for two years by hunting and hawking.²

Since there were almost no trained falcons in Kent about 750, it is not likely that they were sufficiently common in Northern Cumberland in the preceding century to admit of a falconer, with his hawk and appurtenances, forming the theme of a piece of sculpture. The later the period to which the cross can be assigned, the greater the probability that the sport was familiar in this sequestered part of the country. As the Normans were passionate devotees of the sport, it would not be unreasonable to assume that this panel was executed when Norman landowners had secured influential positions in Northern England and Southern Scotland.

As to the identity of the figure, it is evident that no sculptor would have commemorated a mere professional falconer on such a cross, and that it may well have been a royal or noble personage who is thus depicted.³ It is conceivable that if such a royal or noble personage had been responsible for the erection of the cross, he might have been portrayed upon it, either at his own instance, or as a compliment on the part of the sculptor or of some ecclesiastical body

¹ *Ibid.*, 2. 420-1.

² Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. 8, note. Ailred’s words are (*ibid.*, p. 191): ‘Erat autem talis terræ illius desolatio, ut fere bienno ex sole venatu et aucupio se suamque familiam sustineret.’ Hexham is only some 24 miles distant from Bewcastle.

³ Anderson (*Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 163-4) is disinclined to entertain any such theory for the Scottish stones. He says: ‘The custom of presenting in monumental sculpture historical representations of secular scenes derived from the life or times of the persons commemorated, was not only extremely rare and exceptional everywhere throughout the whole period of early Christian art, but was absolutely unknown in this country as far as any positive evidence exists. No monument is known to bear any commemorative reference, sculptured or inscribed, to any historical event occurring within the country in early Christian times.’ But see p. 70, note 2. On equestrian statues in religious architecture bearing the names of Constantine and Charlemagne, see Enlart, *Manuel d’Archéologie Française* 1. 366.

interested in the monument and its purposes.¹ It might occur to some one to attribute the figure to a later date than the rest of the cross ; but against this it may be observed (1) that no part of the monument is more weathered and defaced than this ; (2) that the curved head of the niche resembles that over the figure of Christ, on the same face ; (3) and that a ruler of later date would hardly have ventured to incur the reproach of thus desecrating the monument, whereas a beneficent and trusted leader, high in favor with the monks and clergy, might have been pardoned for allowing himself to be portrayed on a monument erected by his orders or under his patronage.

A kind of parallel to such a representation of a historical personage may possibly be found in a relief wrought by the sculptor Nicholas (see pp. 50-51, 144) at the right of the central door of San Zeno at Verona. This represents a horseman, with a quiver at his back, and his cloak blowing in the wind, pursuing a stag which his dog has overtaken. The horseman, depicted in the act of blowing a horn, has been identified with the semi-mythical King Theodoric.² At the left of the doorway are panels containing the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, the Kiss of Judas, the Adoration of the Shepherds, Herod, the Purification,

¹ An argument against this view might perhaps be drawn from the falconer on horseback, with a hawk on his left wrist, on the tympanum of the 12th century church of Parthenay-le-Vieux (Deux-Sèvres), north portal, west front (Baum, *Romanesque Arch. in France*, p. 44). Cf. p. 67, above, note 1.

² Venturi 3. 192-4 ; Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1². 698-9. Anderson (*Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 166) refers to this scene, but adds : ' We find the chase of the stag included among the subjects from Scripture which are considered suitable for the symbolic decoration of the portal of a church.' Again (*ibid.*, note 1) : ' This is not a solitary instance. A stag, chased by two dogs, followed by a man blowing a horn, is carved in wood on the door of the Church of Rogaslosa in Sweden. It is a common subject in mosaic, as at Cremona, Djemila, Carthage, and Sour.' ' The stag (p. 165) became part of a traditional allegory which represented the soul driven to take refuge in the bosom of the Church.' However this may be, mythical heroes are sometimes found in church-sculpture of the 12th century. Thus Arthur and other heroes of his cycle, recognizable by inscriptions, occur on the archivolt of the Peschiera doorway of the Cathedral of Modena (Venturi 3. 164 ; Michel 1¹. 698), while on the portal of San Zeno of Verona, Nicholas (see p. 144) represented Roland, with his sword inscribed *Durindarda*, and Oliver opposite (Venturi 3. 196 ; Michel 1². 698). Even two episodes of the *Roman de Renard* occur on the lintel of the doorway of the cathedral of Modena (Michel 1². 698).

the Baptism, and the Crucifixion, besides two horsemen in mortal combat, and, in another place, two men on foot engaged in a duel.¹ Hence we have here a similar collocation of *genre* and Scriptural subjects to that on the Bewcastle Cross.

II. THE DECORATIVE SCULPTURE

The decorative sculpture comprises (p. 29, above) vines, chequers, interlacings, and the sundial.

1. THE VINES²

The vine is the most ancient subject of Christian art,³ since it is figured as early as the beginning of the 2d century in the catacomb of Domitilla.

There is a vaulted roof, over which a vine trails with all the freedom of nature, laden with clusters at which birds are pecking, while winged boys are gathering or pressing out the grapes.⁴

Another example occurs in the catacomb of Callistus,⁵ of the 3d century, and there is a mosaic with vintage-scenes, birds, and genii⁶ in the circular aisle of S. Costanza (4th century).

Whether or not such vines and grapes, with or without birds, were intended to be symbolical in the earliest Christian art, they were soon invested with a meaning. The vine was associated with Christ (John 15. 1 ff.), and is thus sometimes wreathed around the Good Shepherd or the monogram of Christ, and employed as a decoration on crosses. By an identification of the Promised Land, from which the cluster of grapes was brought back (Num. 13. 23), with the Heavenly Paradise, grapes were regarded as emblematical of the joys of heaven ; and the doves that fed upon the grapes were interpreted

¹ Venturi 3. 190; Michel 1^a. 698.

² See pp. 19-20, 22-23, 26-28.

³ Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. Christ. Antiqq.* 2. 2018.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1. 693; cf. Tuke and Malleson, *Handbook of Christian and Eccles. Rome* 1. 509: 'The painting is exquisite as art, and has been compared by De Rossi with that of the Villa of Livia, and with that of the most perfect columbaria of the time of Augustus.'

⁵ Smith and Cheetham 1. 698.

⁶ *Handbook* 1. 157; Smith and Cheetham 1. 694; *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 16. 852.

as the souls of the blessed.¹ Much later, the grapes, sometimes associated with ears of wheat, represented the Eucharist, by which the souls of Christians were refreshed on earth.²

As for the animals sometimes interspersed with the birds, they perhaps were originally intended to represent 'the little foxes that spoil the vines,'³ the evil agencies which are intent upon destroying Christianity—not in all innocence, like the birds, enjoying the fruits of it. Of course in many instances the vine, with or without its birds or animals, must have been used as a merely decorative feature, with no thought of symbolism. The frequency with which birds are introduced as architectural decorations has been noted by Ruskin.

Half the ornament, at least, in Byzantine architecture, and a third of that of Lombardic, is composed of birds, either pecking at fruit or flowers, or standing on either side of a flower or vase, or alone, as generally the symbolical peacock.⁴

The vine itself is not always distinctly recognizable as a grapevine, and for this reason writers sometimes speak of it merely as a 'scroll of foliage.' Occasionally it is replaced by the acanthus.

The vine-leaf [is] used constantly both by Byzantines and Lombards, but by the latter with especial frequency, though at this time they were hardly able to indicate what they meant. It forms the most remarkable generality of the St. Michele decoration; though, had it not luckily been carved on the façade, twining round a stake, and with grapes, I should never have known what it was meant for, its general form being a succession of sharp lobes, with incised furrows to the point of each. But it is thrown about in endless change; four or five varieties of it might be found on every cluster of capitals: and not content with this, the Lombards hint the same form even in their griffin wings. They love the vine very heartily.⁵

¹ Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.*, pp. 796 ff.; Kraus, *Realencyclopädie der Christl. Alterthümer* 2. 982; *Handbook* 1. 394; cf. pp. 402, 404, 439.

² *Handbook* 1. 394.

³ Song of Sol. 2. 15; cf. p. 63, above.

⁴ *Stones of Venice* 1. 20. 35.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, App. 8. In the preceding paragraph Ruskin says: 'The Lombard animals are all *alive*, and fiercely alive too, all impatience and spring: the Byzantine birds peck idly at the fruit, and the animals hardly touch it with their noses. The cinque cento birds in Venice hold it up daintily, like train-bearers; the birds in the earlier Gothic peck at it hungrily

The Byzantine formalism reduced it to a mere running scroll, and in this conventional form it always appears on the monuments of this country.¹

Le rinceau d'acanthé, par l'effet d'un très fréquent emploi, a fini par changer de caractère. Déjà, à Spalato [303], il s'enroule autour de fleurons d'où sortent les têtes d'animaux ; plus tard, à Saint-Nicolas de Myra, à Saint-Jean-Stoudite [465], des fleurs et des fruits se sont attachés au bout de ses volutes, des oiseaux mêmes se sont logés dans ses méandres.²

From the 4th century there are sarcophagi with vintage-scenes.³ From the 5th is the so-called sarcophagus of Galla Placidia (ca. 450), in the church of San Lorenzo at Milan, which exhibits a vine, with doves pecking at the grapes⁴ ; and of about the same date is the carved door of S. Sabina at Rome, having panels bordered with highly conventionalized vine-scrolls.⁵ Of the 6th century are two in S. Apollinare in Classe, at Ravenna,⁶ one of which (that of St. Theodore) has three birds and one animal pecking at grapes.

Vines having not only small birds and animals, but peacocks and large animals, are on the front of the episcopal throne usually known as that of Maximian, an Oriental or Egyptian work of the 5th or 6th century ; and still others are found on the back.⁷

and naturally ; but the Lombard beasts gripe at it like tigers, and tear it off with writhing lips and glaring eyes.' Cf. Browne, *Conv. Hept.* p. 192, for a similar contrast between earlier and later representations in England.

¹ Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 238.

² Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1^a. 151-2 ; cf. also p. 153.

³ Michel 1^a. 64 : one in the Lateran, and one in the Vatican. There is another in the vestibule of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, at Rome.

⁴ Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.*, p. 796 ; Allegranza, *Spiegazioni e Riflessioni sopra Alcuni Sacri Monumenti Antichi di Milano*, tav. II.

⁵ Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 1. 33 ff., 475.

⁶ Ricci, *Ravenna*, pp. 35, 104 ; Michel 1^a. 385 ; Venturi 1^a. 221, 225. There is another at Toulouse (Michel 1^a. 69, 70). These latter are all executed under Oriental influence, according to Michel. See also the 5th century specimen from the Cairo Museum (*Burl. Mag.* 21. 195).

⁷ Goetz, *Ravenna*, pp. 97-9 ; Ricci, *Ravenna*, p. 105 ; Michel 1^a. 284-5 ; 2. 200 ; Venturi 1. 295-9 ; cf. Du Sommerard, *Les Arts du Moyen Age*, Vol. 1, pl. XI ; Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 53, note. G. F. Browne, Bishop of Bristol, has expressed the 'feeling that on the upright on either side of the front of the chair you have the secret of the original of this most beautiful side [east] of the Bewcastle Cross.' Unfortunately for this theory, it has been shown that the throne was not sent to Ravenna till the year 1001. Cf. Ricci, pp. 33-4 : 'La cattedra detta di S. Massimiano fu portata a Ravenna soltanto nel 1001,

Either in 687, when he died, or in 698, when his body was exhumed, the body of St. Cuthbert was wrapped, over his other robes, in a linen sheet almost nine cubits in length and three and a half in breadth, having an embroidered border of an inch in width, with a design in raised figures. The design was of 'birds and beasts, so arranged that invariably between every two pairs of birds and beasts there was interwoven the representation of a branching tree, which distinguished and divided the figures. This representation of the tree, so tastefully depicted, appeared to be putting forth its leaves, although small, on both sides; under which, upon the adjacent compartment, the interwoven figures of animals again appeared, and this ornamental border of trees and animals was equally visible upon the extreme parts of the sheet. This sheet was removed from his holy body at the time of his translation [1104], and... was long preserved entire in the church.'¹

To the time of Wilfrith (d. 709) may be assigned a fragment with vine-foliage from Hexham, executed in low relief,² with a somewhat similar fragment at Jarrow.³

quando invece Massimiano era stato arcivescovo di quella città quattro secoli e mezzo prima. E la notizia ci viene pel mezzo della persona stessa che condusse a Ravenna il prezioso mobile: da Giovanni Diacono che la scrisse nella cronaca veneziana, edita già ben tre volte e che nessuno più contesta a lui. Le sue parole tradotte in chiaro italiano, dicono: "In quel tempo (dicembre del 1001) l'imperatore Ottone III per mezzo di Giovanni Diacono mandò al Doge Pietro II Orseolo, due ornamenti imperiali d'oro fatti con mirabile lavoro, uno da Pavia e l'altro da Ravenna. Ad Ottone, per ricompensa, il Doge mandò a Ravenna una cattedra maestrevolmente scolpita in tavole d'avorio, che Ottone, accettata con vivo desiderio, lasciò in quella città perche vi fosse conservata."... È certo che nel suo complesso la cattedra appare opera orientale, provenga essa da Bisanzio, da Alessandria o da Antiochia.' See also Goetz, *Ravenna*, p. 89. Carotti, *History of Art* 2¹. 110, calls it 'an Alexandrian work of the sixth century,' and adds: 'It was first taken from Alexandria to Grado, and then in 1001 to Ravenna, sent as a gift from Doge Pietro Orseolo II. to the Emperor Otto, but Otto left it there to ensure its preservation.' Venturi thinks it to have been named after Bishop Maximian of Constantinople (l. 468).

¹ Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, chap. 42 (quoted in Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, App., p. 5), as translated by Raine, pp. 90-91; I have merely changed certain present tenses to past. Reginald wrote after 1173.

² Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 143 (illustration on p. 142); cf. Greenwell, *Catalogue*, pp. 59 ff.

³ Rivoira 2. 139.

The tomb of Theodota, about 720 (Museum of Pavia) has graceful vine-sprays; ¹ cf. the tomb of Theodechildis (d. 660), at Jouarre.

The Hexham cross, generally regarded as the headstone for the grave of Bishop Acca, who died in 740, now exists in four pieces in the Library of Durham Cathedral. It lacks almost all the head and a portion of the shaft 2½ feet high, and was nearly 14 feet high when complete. The base is 14 inches by 11, and the top 11 inches by 7½, this piece being 11 feet high. 'The design upon one face consists of two vine plants, to a great extent naturally treated, intertwining, forming nine slightly-pointed oval panels, filled with varied combinations of grape bunches, vine leaves and tendrils, in which the grapes predominate.' ²

In the attribution of these fragments to the memorial of Acca, the chief weight attaches to a passage from Pseudo-Simeon of Durham: 'Corpus vero ejus ad orientalem plagam extra parietem ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis [Hexham] . . . sepultum est. Duæque cruces lapideæ mirabili cælatura decoratæ positæ sunt, una ad caput, alia ad pedes ejus.' ³ The largest of the fragments remaining 'was found in the earth' 'while making the chancel of the present church, in the position that the memorial must have originally occupied.' ⁴ Of the inscription, which originally filled the whole of one face of the cross, very little remains. 'The commencing letter is certainly A, and at the end of the line are some remains which may be resolved into Ω, in which case the inscription would begin with Alpha and Omega, not an unlikely heading. The name ACCA has, however, been suggested, and some traces of the last three letters of the name have been thought to be still visible. The second line commences with SC, and nothing more can be made out until about the middle of the shaft, where the words VNIGENITO FILIO DEO, from the Nicene Creed, can be read with almost absolute certainty.' ⁵ However, the authorities seem to be agreed that the fragments belong to Acca's cross—the

¹ Rivoira, *Burlington Magazine*, April 15, 1912, p. 25.

² Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 53, where three plates are given. Other descriptions, with illustrations, are in Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. xxxiv; Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* 2. 47, 48, plates xcii, xciii; Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, pp. 257-261; *History of Northumberland* 3. 181; Rivoira 2. 143. Enlart (Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 2. 200) regards the decoration of the Acca cross as strikingly similar to that of the throne of Maximian.

³ Raine 1. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1. xxxiv; cf. Greenwell, *Catalogue*, pp. 57-8.

⁵ Greenwell, p. 57.

one which stood at the head of his grave.¹ Greenwell attributes the work to 'the Italian craftsmen whom St. Wilfrid brought over'²

¹ Greenwell, p. 58; Enlart, in Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 2. 199 (Enlart makes the mistake of saying that the cross bears the name of Acca); Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 143.

² Too much has been made of Wilfrith's importation of foreign workmen into England. He may, indeed, have brought artisans from the Continent, but the evidence that he did so is too late to be of any value. The facts are these (dates from Plummer's edition of Bede's *Opera Hist.* 2. 316 ff.). Wilfrith was on the Continent twice before he began his building operations at York, Ripon, and Hexham. His first journey was at the age of 19, on which occasion he proceeded to Rome by way of Lyons, in company with Benedict Biscop, who was perhaps half a dozen years his senior; after remaining at Rome several months, he returned to Lyons, and stayed there three years, reaching England after an absence of five years. On the second occasion he went to France, in order to be consecrated as bishop at Compiègne. This time he was abroad for two years, and after his return spent three years at Ripon, varied by the discharge of episcopal duties in Mercia and Kent. This brings us to 669, and his constructions at Ripon did not begin for at least two years (perhaps considerably longer). The church at Hexham was probably not begun till 674, or eight years after his return from France. Now the only passage in Eddi, the one supreme authority for Wilfrith's life, which contains any direct mention of mechanics, is most naturally referred to 669; it is as follows (chap. 14: *Historians of the Church of York* 1. 22): 'Ideo autem venerabiliter vivens, omnibus carus, episcopalia officia per plura spatia agens, cum cantoribus Ædde et Eonan, et cœmentariis, omnisque pæne artis institoribus, regionem suam rediens cum regula Sancti Benedicti, instituta ecclesiarum Dei bene meliorabat.' This Ædde, or Eddi, was the same that wrote his life, and him Wilfrith took from Kent after the arrival of Archbishop Theodore in 669 (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* 4. 2). Accordingly, it must have been in this same year that the builders and artisans accompanied him on his return to Northumbria (*regionem suam rediens*). It will be remembered that he had then been back three years from his second visit to the Continent; in the period just before him he was to have sufficient employment for his workmen—first of all, probably, in the repair of the church at York—whereas in the previous three years he had not, so far as we know, any important operations in which to employ them. On the face of it, then, it looks as though he had found his workmen where he found his singers—in Kent, at that time a centre of learning and the arts. Moreover, there is no proof that he needed the superior abilities of a foreign architect (the young man, probably one of the masons, who fell from the roof of the Hexham church while it was building (Eddi, chap. 22) was a monk (*ex servis Dei*) with an English name, Bothelm), for Eddi (chap. 22), while he says that the church of St. Andrew at Hexham surpassed any building of which he had ever heard north of the Alps (*neque enim ullam domum citra*

to build his church at Hexham, but if not the produce of their hands, then sculptured by artists, possibly native, educated in their school and emulous of their achievements.' ¹ Rivoira takes issue squarely with Greenwell concerning the provenience of the craftsmen : ' It

Alpes montes talem ædificatam audivimus), expressly gives Wilfrith the credit for the plan (*Spiritu Dei doctus, opera facere excogitavit*).

Four centuries or so after Eddi wrote, his statements in these two places became expanded and embellished by writers who can have had no information on the subject save what he furnished them. Thus William of Malmesbury, writing in the first quarter of the 12th century (*Gesta Pontificum* 3. 117: ed. Hamilton, p. 255), although he expressly says that he is following Eddi (Prol. to Bk. 3: p. 210), observes, with respect to Wilfrith's building at Hexham, *arbitratu quidem multa proprio, sed et cæmentariorum, quos ex Roma spes munificentia attraxerat, magisterio*; and to this he was perhaps led by his desire to amplify Eddi's statement by appending to it the second of the two following sentences : ' Ferebaturque tunc in populo celebre, scriptisque etiam est inditum, nusquam citra Alpes tale esse edititium. Nunc qui Roma veniunt idem allegant, ut qui Haugustaldensem fabricam vident ambitionem Romanam se imaginari jurent.' Later in the century (after 1140) Richard of Hexham seeks to improve upon Eddi's statement in chapter 14 by paraphrasing his *omnisque pæne artis institoribus*, and by having Wilfrith bring his workmen from Rome, Italy, France, and other countries (what ones ?) into England, instead of from the South of England to the North (Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. 20): ' De Roma quoque, et Italia, et Francia, et de aliis terris, ubicumque invenire poterat, cæmentarios, et quoslibet alios industrios [*sic*] artifices, secum retinuerat, et ad opera sua facienda secum in Angliam adduxerat.' Finally, Ailred of Rievaulx, writing after 1154, and describing the church at Hexham, brings the artificers from foreign parts in general, without specification of the country (Raine 1. 175): ' Verum ubi eam beatissimus præsul Wilfridus, adductis secum ex partibus transmarinis artificibus, miro lapideo tabulatu, ut in præsentiarum cernitis, renovavit, et, ad devotionem rudis adhuc plebis conciliandam, picturis et calaturis multiphariam decoravit.' These later writers may possibly, considering the friendship and association between Wilfrith and Benedict Biscop, have been influenced by Bede's statement concerning the latter with reference to his journey into Gaul in 675 (*Hist. Abb.* 5): ' Nec plusquam unius anni spatio post fundatum monasterium interiecto, Benedictus oceano transmisso Gallias petens, cementarios qui lapideam sibi æcclesiam iuxta Romanorum quem semper amabat morem facerent, postulavit, accepit, adtulit.' Or they may have been influenced by their knowledge of the importation of Continental workmen into England in their own time.

¹ *Catalogue*, p. 59; he also says: ' It appears to have been the model from which, in various developments, a class of monuments spread from Hexham and enriched the cemeteries of many and even distant places.'

is clear that the carving belongs to a period which, if not that of Wilfrid, is not far removed from it ; and it is equally clear that it comes from a French hand.¹ I say this because the carvers of Rome and Ravenna, at that date the best in Italy, did not produce such complicated interlacings ; and those of Lombardy, though very fond of employing them, were unable to treat them with the grace shown by the cross from Hexham.²

¹ Elsewhere Rivoira is undecided between 'some artist of the school of Ravenna' and a 'French sculptor' (*Burl. Mag.*, April 15, 1912, p. 25).

² Cf. *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 143. Neither Greenwell nor Rivoira will allow any connection between the Acca cross and those at Bewcastle and Ruthwell. On this point Canon Greenwell remarks (pp. 45-6): 'Though they [the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses] possess some features in common with the vine pattern on the cross of Acca and on others apparently developed from it, there is distinctly another motive introduced, and another school than that of Hexham appears to have produced the artists who conceived and executed them. They belong to a school of the highest excellence, the centre of which it is not at present possible to localize, and are, both in design and workmanship, far in advance of those of ordinary Anglian manufacture. It is true that great skill has been exercised and refined taste is manifested on the cross of Acca, yet the relief on these two crosses is higher and bolder, and they exhibit a greater and more inventive power in the representation of natural objects, translated into stone, than is shown in that beautiful work. The way in which tree forms and foliage have been made to adapt themselves to the requirements of the general scheme and to the material used in its production, as well as the artistic sculpturing of branches and leaves and fruits, quite apart from a slavish copy, gives evidence of an educated and well-practised craftsman. The manner also in which the human figure is treated, and the knowledge displayed in the modelling of limbs and drapery, is so different and so superior to the other work of the same time, that it seems to point to an origin beyond the limits of England, and which came from a country where art had for long flourished, and where it had not altogether died away.' He adds (p. 47) with respect to Acca's cross that it is 'a monument which, having regard to its greater simplicity of design and the absence of any interlacing ornament upon it, such as occurs on the Bewcastle cross, might be thought to belong to an earlier time than that of these two memorials.' On the supposition, however, that the Bewcastle Cross is to be assigned to the 7th century, Canon Greenwell is fain to assume that two artists, or two companies of artists, worked contemporaneously at Hexham and at Bewcastle and Ruthwell. Rivoira asserts (2. 143): 'All this carving in relief [of Acca's cross, etc.] is quite different, both in composition, design, and technique, from that of the well-known tall cross at Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire, . . . which cannot be dated earlier than the first half of the XIIth century.' Raine (2. xxviii-xxxi) had been

Two shafts from the ruined eighth-century church of Airona at Milan, which are now in the Brera museum, have oval scrolls containing leaf-ornaments, the tendrils ending in vine-leaves, grapes, etc. They have not birds and animals in them, but in one case there is a single bird at the top, and in the other case a single quadruped.¹ We need not dwell upon the peacock-screen of the museum of Brescia, said to have come from the eighth-century church of San Salvatore, and containing a kind of vine-pattern.²

The baptistery of Calixtus, at Cividale in Friuli, belongs to the first half of the 8th century. On the archivolt are vines, with birds pecking at the grapes.³ A vine-scroll, with grapes but no birds, executed in stucco, ornaments the arch over a door in the church of Santa Maria in Valle, also at Cividale (762-776).⁴

The iconoclasts (8th and 9th centuries) are credited with a predilection for this species of ornament.⁵

A piece of ornament from the church of St. Samson-sur-Rille (Eure) exhibits a vine with grapes and fruit. This dates from before the end of the 9th century, at latest.⁶

The jamb of the north opening into Britford church (Wiltshire) is decorated with a vine of rather rude workmanship, which Rivoira would date anywhere from the 8th to the 10th century⁷; the trees

inclined to assume a connection. For example, he says: 'It seems to me that Wilfrid was the originator of the beautiful forms that appear at Hexham and other places, and which overran Northumbria.'

For other Hexham work of this general character, see Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones of Scotland* 2, Pl. 88, 94; Rivoira 2. 142-4; Michel 2. 200; Greenwell, *Catalogue*, pp. 59 ff.

¹ Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 225; Cattaneo, *Architecture in Italy*, pp. 138, 140.

² Figured in Michel 1¹. 390; cf. Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 222; Venturi 2. 134; Cattaneo, p. 151.

³ Dartain, *Etudes sur l'Architecture Lombarde*, p. 20, and pp. 11, 12, 13; cf. Michel 1¹. 386 ff.

⁴ Dartain, pp. 31, 33; Rivoira 1. 97-9; Venturi 2. 127, 129. Carotti (*Hist. Art* 2¹. 173) is sure that this is after 1000, 'being altogether in the style of the Byzantine Renaissance.'

⁵ See Michel 1¹. 152-3.

⁶ Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 26; cf. p. 8. See also the design on p. 86. Note the example from Coire (*Burl. Mag.* 21. 195).

⁷ *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 180; see also Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 49; Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, pp. 291-2; Michel 1¹. 120.

with branches of scroll-work in the tower of Barnack church (Northamptonshire) are of the earlier 11th century.¹

In the cathedral of Torcello (ca. 1008), on the parapets (*transennæ*) of the choir, the whole surface is covered with volutes, in which birds and little animals disport, as on the Brescia screen.²

At Jedburgh there is a slab of sandstone in the north transept of the abbey, thus described by Allen³ : ' Of nearly rectangular shape (but fractured along one edge), 2 feet 7 inches high by 2 feet wide, sculptured in relief on one face thus (fig. 454) : . . . the lower part of a panel of scroll foliage with winged dragons, birds and beasts involved in the branches and eating the fruit ; and (on the right) a panel of interlaced-work.' This stone Professor Howard Crosby Butler figures in his *Ruined Abbeys of Scotland* (p. 71), and entitles it, ' Fragment of Romanesque altar-piece ' ; elsewhere he compares it, in general style and technique, with Lombard work of the 11th century, with which he regards it as very closely allied.⁴

Of the 11th century is reported to be a foliage-scroll found in a copy of the Gospels in the National Library of Paris.⁵

At Flaa and Sauland, in Norway, the doorways of the churches are decorated with a vine-scroll, winding about animals. These are of the 11th century.⁶

Of the 12th century are the foliage-scrolls with figures of the west door of Lincoln Cathedral.⁷

Vines are to be found in France, in the 12th century, at Chartres,⁸ Vézelay,⁹ St. Denis,¹⁰ Notre-Dame de Paris (1190-1215),¹¹ Arles,¹²

¹ Rivoira 2. 181.

² Michel 1^a. 389 ; Cattaneo, *Arch. in Italy*, pp. 332-3 ; Venturi 2. 161.

³ *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 433-4 ; cf. 1. lxii ; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 233. Also described and illustrated in Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones of Scotland*, Vol. 2, Pl. 118, No. 1 ; *Catholic Encyc.* 1. 509.

⁴ Letter of Jan. 17, 1910. Cf., however, Enlart, in Michel 2. 200. Prior and Gardner, ' Med. Figure-Sculpture in England,' *Architectural Review*, July, 1902, p. 11, refer it to ca. 700.

⁵ Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 53, note ; Labarte, *Histoire des Arts Industriels*, Vol. 1, pl. 4.

⁶ Henry Rousseau, *Annales de la Soc. Archéol. de Bruxelles* 16. 70. So at Aal and Tuft (Michel 1^a. 524).

⁷ Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 44.

⁸ Marriage, pp. 44-5 ; cf. pp. 200-1 ; Viollet-le-Duc 8. 210-1. Cf. p. 129, below.

⁹ Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, pp. 38-9 ; Viollet-le-Duc 8. 213-5.

¹⁰ Viollet-le-Duc 8. 222.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 8. 230.

¹² Venturi 3. 281.

Sens,¹ and St. Ursin at Bourges (1150).² Enlart, after saying that they (*rinceaux*) are favorite motives with Romanesque sculptors,³ gives several instances : Mantes (door-jamb), Vézelay, Aulnay, Dalbades (Cloister), Fontevrault (Abbey, church), Bayeux (Cathedral).⁴ Baum gives several examples : Maguelonne (St. Pierre), Aulnay (St. Pierre, window of apse, and porch of south transept), Toulouse (Museum), Angoulême (St. Pierre), Le Puy (Chapel of St. Michel), Arles (St. Trophime), Avallon (St. Lazare), Lichères, St. Benoît-sur-Loire, La Charité-sur-Loire (St. Croix), Mantes.⁵ These vary from classical to the more extravagant Lombard types.

There is a vine, with animals, on the door-jamb of St. Gertrude at Nivelles.⁶

Vines were frequently used as a sculptural ornament in Italy during the 12th century. Grape-vines with both birds and animals among their branches, these latter often eating the fruit, are to be seen at Como (Museo Civico, relief),⁷ Milan (Museo Arch., ornaments of pilasters, by Nicholas),⁸ Nonantola (San Silvestro, portal, by Wili-gelmus),⁹ Salerno (Cathedral, architrave of door of atrium),¹⁰ Benevento (Cathedral, door-jamb),¹¹ Bitonto (Cathedral, portal),¹² and Pavia (San Michele, various doorways).¹³ There is a vine with one bird among its branches at Capua (Cathedral, candelabrum),¹⁴ and, in the same city, one with apparently only animal forms (San Marcello, door-jamb).¹⁵ Vines with human figures as well as animals among

¹ Venturi 3. 362 ff.

² Viollet-le-Duc 8. 204-5.

³ *Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 350.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 348, 363, 385, 388, 464 (Fig. 222).

⁵ *Romanesque Arch. in France*, pp. 11, 13, 14, 74, 101, 109, 126, 144, 147, 162, 176, 222.

⁶ Rousseau, 'La Ruthwell Cross,' *Annales de la Soc. Archéol. de Bruxelles* 16 (1902). 65, 70.

⁷ Venturi 3. 146.

⁸ *Ibid.* 3. 162.

⁹ *Ibid.* 3. 170.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 3. 540.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 3. 623; Leader Scott (Mrs. Baxter), *Cathedral Builders*, p. 246.

¹² Venturi 3. 665.

¹³ Dartein, *Etudes sur l'Arch. Lomb.*, Atlas des Planches, pl. 54, 58, 60, 61; Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 1. 236; Cummings, *History of Architecture in Italy* 1. 127, 188-9; Ruprich-Robert, *L'Architecture Normande aux XI^e et XII^e Siècles* 1. 75; Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1^a. 541, 695; Venturi 2. 153-7.

¹⁴ Venturi 3. 607.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 3. 533.

the branches (or sometimes merely human figures, and these occasionally of grotesque appearance) are found at Modena (Duomo, portal dei Principi, by Wiligelmus),¹ Parma (Baptistery, tympana and door-jamb),² Traù (San Lorenzo, bas-relief on door),³ Sessa Aurunca (Cathedral, ambo),⁴ and Monreale (Duomo, door-jamb and pillars of cloister).⁵ It is also interesting to note that on the door of the cathedral at Spalato, dating from the early years of the 13th century (1214), there are vines with birds, animals, and human heads among their branches, in the near neighborhood of interlacing or knotwork.⁶ A vine of conventional pattern is found closely associated with chequer-work on the font in the baptistery at Pisa.⁷ Besides these more interesting examples of vine-sculpture, more than forty other vine-ornaments carved in Italy in the 12th century are pictured by Venturi.⁸

Of the 13th century is the Peridexion, or tree of life, of S. Urbain at Troyes and of Rheims Cathedral, with birds in its branches,⁹ and the foliage-scrolls of S. Séverin at Bordeaux.¹⁰

Foliage-scrolls are found on various crosses in the British Isles which need only be named here. Such are those at Bakewell, Eyam, Ilkley, Sheffield, Bishop Auckland, Monasterboice, Kells, and Clonmacnois¹¹; then at Croft,¹² Abercorn,¹³ Aberlady,¹⁴ Closeburn,¹⁵

¹ Venturi 3. 155.

² *Ibid.* 3. 296-7, 305.

³ *Ibid.* 3. 352.

⁴ *Ibid.* 3. 581.

⁵ *Ibid.* 3. 621, 627

⁶ *Ibid.* 3. 105-113.

⁷ *Ibid.* 3. 931; see also Ruskin, *Works*, Library Edition 23. 17, where it is figured.

⁸ *Ibid.* 3. 13, 72, 92, 101, 119, 122, 163, 187, 190, 193, 195, 225, 250, 283, 286, 287, 293, 295, 333, 288-9, 395, 539, 559, 561, 609, 667, 707, 718, 773, 817, 826, 893, 895, 898, 899, 912, 916, 919, 934, 935, 936, 937, 947, 950, 951, 952-3; 1. 49.

⁹ Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIII^e Siècle*, p. 63; cf. Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 388; Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 192.

¹⁰ Viollet-le-Duc 9. 335-6.

¹¹ All mentioned by Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 158-9 (the last three probably of the 12th century; see p. 54, note 3).

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 154 (plate opposite).

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 158; *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 418; 1. lxii.

¹⁴ *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 428; 1. lxii.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 3. 436; 1. lxii.

St. Vigeans (ca. 900 ?),¹ Hilton of Cadboll,² Nigg,³ Tarbet,⁴ Crieff,⁵ Barfreton,⁶ Mugdrum,⁷ Forres(?),⁸ Camuston,⁹ Dupplin,¹⁰ Haversham,¹¹ Keils and Kilarrow,¹² Kildroman (on Islay),¹³ and Oronsay.¹⁴

According to Anderson, the foliage-scroll, 'though it is an exceptional feature of the monuments [in Scotland] previous to the twelfth century, becomes the prevailing and dominant feature of the West Highland monuments of a later period ranging from the thirteenth century to the Reformation.'¹⁵

Iona has a cross erected to the memory of Lauchlan McFingon, and bearing the date of 1489, which has a foliage-scroll, but without birds or animals.¹⁶

Numerous other instances of the vine- or foliage-scroll might be cited, but the object of the foregoing is to show that this decoration may be found in practically any century from the second to the fifteenth, and that hence it is not safe to place too much dependence upon this feature in an attempt to date the cross. The conclusion of Rivoira has been quoted above (p. 78, note 2), and deserves peculiar consideration.

2. THE CHEQUERS¹⁷

Chequers (Fr. *damier*, *échiquier*) are an ornament belonging especially to Romanesque architecture, and found from the end of the

¹ *Ibid.* 3. 236-8; 1. lxii; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 51, 130, 194; Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones of Scotland* 2, Pl. 127.

² Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 130, 233; Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 1. lxi; Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 62.

³ Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 130.

⁴ *Ibid.* 2. 130, 233; Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 73; Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 1. lxi.

⁵ Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 130; *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 1. lxii; 3. 313-5.

⁶ Michel 1st. 517.

⁷ *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 1. lxi; 3. 367.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1. lxii.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1. lxii; 3. 254; see the fuller list, *ibid.* 2. 404

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 1. lxii; 3. 321.

¹¹ Calverley, in *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* 12. 246.

¹² Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones of Scotland*, p. 1, Pl. 35.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Pl. 34.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. 38.

¹⁵ *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 1. lxi.

¹⁶ Daniel Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* 2. 247-8; Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones of Scotland* 2, Pl. 47; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 131.

¹⁷ See p. 26.

11th to the beginning of the 13th century, in the Ile-de-France, the Soissonnais, Normandy, and England. It is frequently found on the tympana of churches, but in Normandy also on the faces of walls, buttresses, etc.

A form of diaper ornament in which the compartments are uniformly square, as in late Romanesque and in Gothic surface carving.¹

Le damier est un ornement d'architecture fréquemment employé pendant le XII^e siècle. . . . C'est surtout dans l'Ile-de-France, le Soissonnais, et en Normandie, qu'on trouve l'emploi des damiers à dater de la fin du XI^e siècle jusqu'au commencement du XIII^e. . . . Les damiers couvrent aussi, en Normandie, des parements de murs, des rampants de contre-forts; alors ils figurent des *essentes* ou bardeaux de bois. C'était un moyen peu dispendieux de donner de la richesse aux tympana, aux surfaces des murs.²

Les damiers, carrés alternés en creux et en relief, sont des motifs courants très répandus, connus dès le XI^e siècle, abandonnés à la fin du XII^e, et peuvent être d'origine orientale.³

The average craftsman of Norman days had the ideas of interlacing, chequers, and scrolls among his stock-in-trade.⁴

¹ Sturgis, *Dictionary of Architecture and Building*, s. v. *Checker*.

² Viollet-le-Duc 5. 24-5, s. v. *Damier*. For tympana thus ornamented in France, see Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 91, 96, 160, 188.

³ Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 354; cf. pp. 363, 364 (note 6), 402 (picture); also Baum, *Romanesque Arch. in France*, p. 70 (church of Chauriat, Puy-de-Dôme).

⁴ Collingwood, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 290. Among Norman churches in the diocese of Carlisle which have tympana or capitals ornamented with chequers, Collingwood mentions those of Bromfield (p. 85), Kirk-Bampton (p. 214), Long Marton (p. 229), and Torpenhow (p. 271). Ruprich-Robert (*L'Arch. Norm.* 1. 95) mentions the tympanum over a door at Norwich Cathedral (see his Fig. 56, and compare his Plate XLII, Fig. 2). Keyser, *List of Norman Tympana*, though professing to consider only the figure- or symbolical sculpture, mentions tympana of the following churches as containing chequers: Wold Newton, Yorkshire (pp. XXX, 31; Fig. 16); Tissington, Derbyshire (pp. XXX, 51; Fig. 22); Findern, Derbyshire (p. XXX: 'a diaper of the chequered pattern'; p. 16: 'a diaper of square billets'; Fig. 23); and, finest of all, Brize Norton, Oxfordshire (pp. XXXIV-V, 32; Fig. 33). These he considers (p. XV) to 'belong to the Norman period of architecture, say 1080-1200.' Cf. p. 127, note 1, below, and the Venetian example in Ruskin, *Works* (Lib. Ed.) 11. 320, Pl. 2.

The earliest instance of the chequer-pattern in ecclesiastical architecture is to be found in the abbey-church of Jumièges (1040 to 1066).

Nor should we omit to notice the presence of a decorative form not previously used in ecclesiastical architecture, viz. the bands of chequer pattern [at Jumièges], so frequently reproduced later in Normandy and England, and finally applied by the architect Lanfrancus to the capitals in the cathedral at Modena (1099-1106). This chess-board motive was a favorite one with the Etruscan artists, who often employed it in tomb-paintings (Fig. 459). The Romans applied it specially in mosaics.¹

Notwithstanding these facts, Collingwood will not allow that the chequers on the Bewcastle Cross necessarily indicate that it was executed in the Norman period.

The mere fact of the use of a chequer-pattern does not indicate Norman age. The chequers on Bewcastle Cross are a variety of the step-pattern on Irton Cross; chequers also appear at Bromfield, Kirk-Bampton, Torpenhow, and Long Marton, but these are different in treatment, just as Norman interlacing, of which there is plenty, differs from the regulated braids of Anglo-Saxon age.²

Whether 'the chequers on Bewcastle Cross are a variety of the step-pattern on Irton Cross' is a matter for professed archaeologists to determine. As for me, I can see no such resemblance, judging from the plate facing his page 206. In any case, it is only guess-work that Irton Cross is early. Collingwood says (p. 301): 'The key-patterns and other details of Irton are also not Irish but Anglian, if the Lindisfarne Gospels are—as the names of their artists indicate; and may be as early—dating from the beginning of the eighth century, to judge from the style.' But elsewhere he says (p. 206) of Irton Cross: 'The carving has been all done with the chisel, without drill or pick, and is smooth, highly finished work, very varied in depth.' But if it was all done with the chisel, it must have been as late as the Norman period, if we may trust Parker, *Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*, p. 77: 'The chisel is only required for deep-cutting and especially under-cutting, and that we do not

¹ Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 83. Venturi (*Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 20) speaks of chequers as among the ornaments of pillars (with knotwork, etc.) which became more and more common in Italy from the 12th century. See also above, p. 82, note 7.

² Collingwood, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 43-44.

find on any buildings of ascertained date before 1120. The chisel was used for carving in stone in Italy and the south of France at an earlier period, but not in Normandy or the north of France much earlier than in England. After this usage was introduced, the workmen seem to have gloried in it, and revelled in it, and the profusion of rich Norman sculptured ornament in the latter half of the twelfth century is quite wonderful.¹

Bishop Browne declares the chequers 'perhaps the most difficult thing to explain on the whole cross, whether as to purpose or as to date'²; but with Viollet-le-Duc's statements in mind, it is easy to see that there is no difficulty if we assume that the cross is of the 12th century, and that the purpose of the chequers was merely to serve as a means of ornamentation.

3. THE INTERLACINGS OR KNOTWORK³

The interlacings found on the Bewcastle Cross are a characteristically Celtic development of designs which must have been brought to Britain soon after the introduction of Christianity, and which gave birth here to a great variety of intricate and beautiful patterns. These patterns are first found in such manuscripts as the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells, and afterwards in metal-work and stone-work.

The intricate and in some cases involved pattern of interlacing or knot-work occurs not only on the Anglian crosses and grave-covers, but is also found on the memorial stones of Ireland, Scotland, and other parts of the United Kingdom outside Northumbria. It is sometimes formed by a simple riband, at other times by lacertine or serpentine creatures (zoomorphic), or by beasts, more or less naturalistically represented, whose tails, limbs, or tongues are prolonged into ribands. This riband intertwines after the most varied fashion, progressing from a mere overlapping or twisting cord into the most elaborate convolutions, forming designs which, when executed by a well-skilled and deft-handed workman, are marvels of intelligent intricacy, and produce a very charming effect through the gracefulness and accuracy of their curvature and interlacement. The use of the interlacing riband pattern appears to have been introduced into this country, though not altogether directly, from Ireland, where it almost certainly had arrived with the introduction of Christianity. Sufficient proof of this seems to be

¹ Cf. also p. 52; Edith A. Browne, *Norman Architecture* (London, 1907), p. 31; and especially Rivoira 2. 202, 229, 247.

² *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 194.

³ See pp. 26-28.

afforded by the entire absence of any design at all like it in Ireland during pagan times, though metal weapons and ornaments of that period are richly decorated. The origin of the interlacing principle as an element of ornamental design is a difficult problem to solve. It may, perhaps, be a development of the patterns of the tessellated pavements so common in late Roman work. It appears to have followed the spread of Christianity, and it occurs far beyond European limits, being found as a frequent decoration in early Coptic and Ethiopic manuscripts.¹

In Ireland, which was the cradle of the art, it is suggestive that these elaborately intricate patterns are not so characteristic of the monuments as of the manuscripts. The earlier Irish monuments are comparatively plain and unadorned ; among the earlier manuscripts, on the contrary, there are many that are profusely decorated. It thus appears that it was only when the art had been brought to a high degree of excellence that it began to be generally applied to stone and metal work in Ireland. There is no reason to suppose that the course of its development was different in Scotland. . . . While it is manifest . . . that a national system of art like this of the Scottish monuments is described in correct terms by saying that in all the essential features of its individuality it differs from every other, it does not necessarily follow that its essential elements must have originated in Scotland or in Ireland. . . . When I say, for instance, that interlaced work is one of the special characteristics of the Celtic school of art, I do not mean that the Celts were the only people who have used interlaced work, or that its invention was due to them. . . . For instance, we find interlaced work on Babylonish cylinders, on Mycenaean ornaments and sculpture, on Alexandrian manuscripts, on Ethiopic manuscripts and metal-work, and on Pompeian bronzes. . . . We find it on the mosaic pavements of the time of the Roman occupation of Britain, and on Christian mosaics of later time in the early churches of Italy and France. We find it also existing as an architectural decoration applied to the ornamentation of churches, both externally and internally. The jambs of the doorway of San Zeno at San Prassede, in Rome, built by Pope Paschal I., about A. D. 820, are ornamented with a running pattern of interlaced ribbon-work of four strands, which might have appeared on the shaft of a sculptured cross in Scotland or in Ireland. . . . In the church of Chur, in Switzerland, founded in 1178, there were found seventeen fragments of slabs sculptured with designs of complicated interlaced work arranged in panels. Among them is one on which is sculptured a cross of interlaced

¹ Greenwell, *Catalogue*, pp. 48-9. Cf. Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 147-151 ; *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 2. 143. The varieties of interlaced work are described in detail by Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 2. 140-307, where the Bewcastle patterns will be found.

work, with two circles above the arms, and two lions below. . . . It was thus a common form of decorative ornament applied to many and various purposes, in many different parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, both before and after the time when, in this country and in Ireland, it became one of the prevailing and dominant characteristics of Celtic art. But while it was thus used by other peoples as an occasional element of decoration, or as a style of ornament suitable for special purposes, it was nowhere developed into a systematic style of art, applied alike to manuscripts, metal-work, and stone-work, unless in this country and in Ireland. In other words, it never gave a distinctive character to any art but Celtic art. . . . The variety and beauty of their special adaptations of this system of ornamental design can only be appreciated by those who have closely studied their endless variations, as exhibited in the complicated patterns so frequently met with in the manuscripts and on the monuments.¹

The most striking characteristic of VIIIth century carving, interlacing, had been used by the Romans not only on vases and domestic utensils, but also in architectural decoration, as also, and more particularly, in mosaics. This may be verified by any one in museums, in the early Christian Catacombs, and in buildings of the Imperial age. And before the Romans it had been used by the Etruscans.²

L'entrelacs, en revanche, est d'usage aussi constant que multiple. Moins spécial à l'Irlande peut-être que les deux motifs précédents, qui ne dépassèrent guère la belle époque, il eut dans le milieu britannique toute une vie prolongée à transformations sans nombre. Beaucoup plus compliqué dès l'origine que sur le continent, il a connu les arrangements les plus divers, issus de l'art de la vannerie ou du tisserand, depuis la simple tresse aux anneaux réguliers jusqu'au nattage fait de plusieurs cordes qui s'entrecroisent et se nouent, en carrés, en cercles, en triangles, en boucles de toute forme et de toute grandeur, souvent même de la plus irrégulière fantaisie.³

¹ Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 109-114.

² Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 1. 105-6. There are some good specimens from the 8th or early 9th century in the church of S. Sabina, at Rome (Rivoira 1. 128). For interlacing associated with vine-scrolls, see Venturi 3. 105-113, and p. 82, above. Enlart (*Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 363, note 3) refers to St. Michel d'Entraigues (Charente), the Cathedral of Mariana (Corsica), and St. Peter's at Segovia (Spain); Baum (*Romanesque Arch. in France*, p. 136) figures an example from St. Guilhem-du-Désert (Hérault) of the 10th century.

³ Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1¹. 318; cf. Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 352.

As the best stone- and metal-work containing the Celtic interlacing is late, and 'comes close to the eleventh and twelfth centuries,'¹ and as the knotwork on the Bewcastle Cross is evidently of Celtic pattern, it is clear that, even judged by these considerations alone, the Bewcastle Cross must belong to a comparatively late period.²

4. THE SUNDIAL ³

The sundial on the south face of the Bewcastle Cross is, by common consent, as old as the rest of the carving.

This dial is a semicircle with hole for the gnomon now lost, and rays marking twelve divisions between sunrise and sunset. It is certainly a part of the original monument.⁴

The sun-dial, with its rays marking the hours, and the hole for its gnomon, has been cut at the time of the making of the cross, and is part of the original design, so far as we can see.⁵

It is contemporary with the sculpturing of the scroll of foliage.⁶

¹ Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 109.

² Bishop Browne, who regards the Bewcastle Cross as of the 7th century, finds difficulty here. He says (*Conv. of Hept.*, pp. 197-8): 'As to the interlacing patterns, the question is more difficult. Our Hibernian friends claim that the whole of this art came from them. But they have no stone-work of anything like the date of the Bewcastle Cross with anything like these patterns. Their earliest great cross, too, dates from 920 only [really 12th century; see p. 54, note 3]. . . . If it is claimed that the Irish parchment ornamentation gave the patterns of these panels of interlacing ornament, we have to reply that we are not aware of any MS. of Irish production with these patterns so early as the year 670.' He accordingly finds himself obliged to resort to the hypothesis of an independent Anglian development, and, as an alternative, to that of a borrowing from Lombardy, the peacock screen at Brescia (see p. 79, above) being cited as a crucial example of the Lombardic work (*op. cit.*, pp. 198, 228-9; but cf. his *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 238, where he accounts for the absence of knotwork from the Ruthwell Cross by the desire of its artists 'to shake themselves free from the local associations of Anglian and Scotie interlacements, and to look to more classical decoration'). Rivoira (*Burl. Mag.*, April 15, 1912, pp. 23, 24) will not allow that any British carved interlacing is earlier than the 8th century.

³ See p. 27.

⁴ Collingwood, in *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 255.

⁵ Calverley, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 41.

⁶ Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 194.

According to Gatty, few sundials in England antedate 1066.¹ Collingwood, who lists several in Cumberland,² will not assert that any of them were sculptured before the Norman period.

There is abundant evidence that our dials are of a 'Saxon' type; but they occur in masonry which, at earliest, is Norman, at latest, as late as the Newbiggin dial, given for its likeness to Bewcastle. . . . The conclusion is that these dials, though of 'Saxon' type, were cut on Norman (and later) buildings by twelfth century (and later) people, who still, however, kept up the pre-Norman manner of marking time.³

Some light is thrown upon the Bewcastle sundial by one at the Cistercian abbey of Acquafredda, on Lake Como.⁴ It is of white marble, .425 metre in diameter, and bears the date of 1093 above its horizontal diameter. Like the Bewcastle dial, it has twelve divisions, with short pieces of radii, ending in the circumference, in the fifth, eighth, and tenth divisions, counting from the right, marking respectively 10.30 A. M., and 1.30 and 3.30 P. M.; the hours, according to the *Coutumier Cistercien* , denoting the end of manual labor, the end of the siesta, and vespers. Above the date is the Chi Rho monogram, and, on either side, the Alpha and the Omega.

It will be seen that there is absolutely no reason for dating the Bewcastle sundial earlier than the late 11th century, and that the 12th century is more probable.

¹ *Book of Sun-Dials*, ed. Eden and Lloyd, p. 51. Gatty notes those at Weaverthorpe, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, about 943; Old Byland, before the coming of the Cistercian monks in the 12th century; Skelton, early 12th century; Bishopstone, 11th century; Warnford, 12th or 13th century; Bricet, about 1096; St. Sepulchre's church, Northampton, about 1400; besides the famous one at Kirby Moorside, among the moors not far from Whitby. This was erected by Orm, Gamal's son, in the days of Earl Tostig, and is dated by every one within the ten years immediately preceding 1065 (see the inscription in Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 195, and Gatty, p. 55, for example).

² *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 256; *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 57, 92, 99, 132, 178, 208, 226, 237, 239, 263, 270.

³ *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 288-9; cf. p. 54, and *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 256.

⁴ Reported in *Cosmos*, No. 1238, Oct. 17, 1908, by J. L. Benoît, a Benedictine monk; cf. *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 52 (1909). 200, 201.

THEORY AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE CROSSES

OUTLINE

On the supposition that the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses were produced at about the same time, and under the same general influences, the theory of production must take account of three factors :

I. The power—political, social, or religious—which enabled and suggested the production.

II. The motive or motives—religious, social, or political—which actuated the production.

III. The cultural and artistic antecedents and environment demanded by the production.

I. In the case of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, the power which enabled and suggested the production must have had these characteristics :

1. It must have been a power extending over the whole region which includes both Ruthwell and Bewcastle.

2. It must have been a power which could make itself respected in a rude age ; and, to have been supremely effective, it must have been a power making appeal to all the various nationalities which occupied the region.

II. The motives actuating such a production, whether religious, social, or political, must have been such as can be reasonably assigned to the individual or organization credited with the production. These motives, considering the territory in which the crosses are found, might conceivably be such as these—some or all : To erect a memorial of the Christian faith ; to establish a station for Christian worship ; to commemorate a historic event or individual ; to conciliate the various elements of the population which should view the monument ; incidentally to subserve a political end, by reminding the inhabitants of that region of the sway of the organization or individual at whose instance the crosses were erected.

III. In considering the cultural and artistic antecedents and environment, we must remember the variety of features which the crosses exhibit. Among these, none is of more importance with reference to the date than the figure-sculpture, pointing to the 12th century, and to analogues existing upon French and Italian soil, or, if upon English soil, due to Continental, and probably to French

influence. Some, at least, of these analogues exist in places whence influences might, directly or indirectly, have reached Ruthwell and Bewcastle. These crosses, anomalous when viewed merely in relation to the development of Celtic, Danish, or Saxon sculpture upon English soil, are only explicable on the theory of an art which, borrowing elements from these various nationalities, at once harmonized and transcended them. But the art which thus harmonized and transcended these borrowed elements reposed upon a religious sentiment which gathered new power from the beginning of the 12th century, a sentiment whose warmth and depth evoked potentialities which had been latent in the artistic capabilities of the Middle Ages, at once energizing, refining, humanizing, and co-ordinating what had been nerveless, barbarous, or random in the Byzantine or Lombard sculpture which had preceded.¹

¹ It is instructive to compare the figure of Christ on St. Cuthbert's coffin, which Canon Greenwell (*Catalogue*, p. 134) is positive was made in 698 (and so Kitchin, *Victoria Hist. Durham* 1. 246), with those on our crosses. Greenwell's description of the carving is as follows (p. 141): 'The lid contains at the middle a figure of our Lord (see Fig. 34) placed between the symbols of the Evangelists arranged in pairs, two over his head and two beneath his feet. The one side has half-length figures of Archangels placed in one row, the other side has similar figures of the Apostles arranged in two rows. The larger end, probably that at the head of the coffin, has two Archangels upon it, the other has a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin holding our Lord on her knees.' Greenwell adds: 'Our Lord is represented on the lid standing fronting (see Fig. 35). He has a cruciferous nimbus, and wears a dress reaching to the feet, which are naked. His right hand is raised in the act of blessing, and a fold of the dress hangs over the arm. In his left hand, which is covered by another fold of the dress, he holds a book (The Gospels).' Other authorities are in substantial agreement with Greenwell. Thus Enlart (Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 2. 200): 'Une curieuse pièce du même musée [Durham] montre ce qu'était devenue la représentation de la figure humaine dans les dernières années du VII^e siècle. C'est le cercueil de bois de Saint Cuthbert exécuté en 698 par les moines de Lindisfarne. Le Christ entre les quatre Animaux, la Vierge, les Archanges, y sont représentés en simple gravure au trait, avec une médiocre entente des proportions et des formes, et de façon conventionnelle et systématique, mais non sans habileté. La tradition byzantine est encore évidente dans ces curieuses figures.' Rivoira remarks (*Lomb. Arch.* 2. 147) on 'the precious remains of the oak coffin which once held the body of St. Cuthbert, . . . with its representations of Christ between the Emblems of the Evangelists, the Archangels, the Virgin and Child, and the Apostles, poor in drawing but freely cut with the knife or graver, and accompanied by legends in Roman and Runic characters. . . .



*Fig. 34. St. Cuthbert's Coffin. (From Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 138.)*



*Fig. 35. St. Cuthbert's Coffin, Figure of Christ. (From Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 143.)*

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It is my purpose, in this section, to endeavor to show that no historical character better suits the demands made by these various considerations than David I of Scotland (1080 ?—1153). In order to succeed in this, it will be necessary to take up the above points one by one.

[It] may very well belong to the year 698, or perhaps 696, as has been suggested.'

The contrast with the art of the Ruthwell Cross was suggested by Margaret Stokes (*Early Christian Art in Ireland*, p. 125): 'The reader has only to compare the beautiful art and good drawing of the scrolls and figures on the Ruthwell cross with the rude outlines and letters on the coffin of St. Cuthbert—a work which all authorities allow to be of the seventh century—to realize how unlikely it is that they could be contemporaneous.' To this Henry Bradley rejoined (*Academy* 33. 279): 'The argument from comparison with St. Cuthbert's coffin does not appear to be of great force. There is no reason to suppose that the number of artists capable of producing work like that of the Ruthwell cross was large; and it is quite conceivable that, however anxious the monks of Lindisfarne may have been to do honour to the remains of their master, they may have chosen to employ the services of some members of their own community in preference to importing a more skilful workman from a distant part of the kingdom.' Any force there may seem to be in the argument from the inferiority of the supposed Lindisfarne workman is, however, invalidated by the observations of Dean Kitchin (*Victoria Hist. Durham* 1. 246): 'The carvings are a remarkable example of early Anglian work; they are executed with a freedom and accuracy of stroke which tells us that the artist was a master in his simple art. There is no hesitation in the work, no second cut, no slip over the grain, no sign of weakness in it or note of indecision.'

Various writers have commented on the beauty of the carving on these crosses. Thus Maughan (*Memoir*, p. 13), concerning the Bewcastle Cross: 'The buds, blossoms, and fruit have been so carefully and exquisitely delineated by the chisel of the workman, and are still so faithfully preserved, that they seem as if they were things only just starting into life.' Collingwood (*Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 196) speaks of 'the classic proportion and dignity which must strike even the least critical visitor to Bewcastle or Ruthwell.' Concerning the vine on the Bewcastle Cross, Browne remarks (*Conv. of Hept.*, p. 191): 'The whole is drawn in a very bold and skilful manner, and the animals and birds are full of life. . . . It is quite impossible to see the beautiful sculpture without a wondering surprise. Who could have drawn, who could have executed in high relief, such a work of art as this, at any assignable date in Anglian history?' Later he observes (*ibid.*, pp. 199-200; cf. p. 223): 'Of the figure of our Lord on the west side of the Bewcastle Cross, a figure about three and a half feet high, I can only say that a more dignified simplicity could not be given to such a figure in any age. I have

I. THE POWER WHICH ENABLED AND SUGGESTED THE PRODUCTION

1. A POWER EXTENDING OVER THE REGION INCLUDING BOTH CROSSES

David became prince of Scottish Cumbria in 1107, and ruled over it until he became king of Scotland in 1124. According to the best authorities, his rule as prince extended over the whole of Dumfriesshire, and would therefore have included Ruthwell; while the fact that Gilles, son of Boed, or Bueth, from whom Bewcastle derives its name, appears among the witnesses to David's inquest of 1120 or 1121, leads one to suppose that this region, at least, was under his jurisdiction, though so clearly, according to our notions, on the English side of the Border.

Upon the 8th of January 1107, Edgar sunk into an early grave, with his latest breath bequeathing the appanage of Scottish Cumbria to his youngest brother David; not only as a testimony of personal regard for his favorite brother, but as an acknowledgment of the valuable assistance which he had derived, during his contest for the crown, from the intelligence and sagacity of that able and politic prince.¹

had it put on glass, and shewn by lime light on a screen, the full size of life. It never fails to impress deeply an audience of whatever class. Nothing that I have seen of early sculpture in foreign museums has produced the same kind of effect upon myself; and the effort to conceive its being produced in Cumberland 1225 years ago, whether by native, or by Gallican, or by Roman masons, is merely bewildering.' Prior and Gardner ('English Mediæval Figure-Sculpture,' *Architectural Review* 12. 8): 'The draperies have the full foldings and massive modelling of late classic design, and generally the technique shows a practised chisel, as well as the assured methods of a finished school in figure and decorative design. We do not reach such technical attainment again in English work until close upon the thirteenth century.'

On the various elements which enter into the English sculpture of this period, see Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 159, 230; Calverley, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 41; Nanson, 'Bewcastle,' *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* 3. 223; Prior and Gardner, 'English Mediæval Figure-Sculpture,' *Architectural Review* 12. 8. For similar phenomena in the Isle of Man, see Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, p. 89. For the composite character of Romanesque sculpture and architecture, see Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1^a. 943; Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIII^e Siècle en France* 1. 68 ff.

¹ Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings* 1. 170.

After Edgar's death [1107] he served an apprenticeship for the royal office as earl or prince of Cumbria, where his power was little short of regal. He married a Saxon, . . . and his friends and followers were chiefly Norman. . . . In the government of his principality he succeeded in reducing a wild part of Scotland into order, using for this purpose the agency of the church.¹

The government of Cumbria was a valuable apprenticeship for the royal office. Originally peopled by Celts of the Cymric branch, from whom it derived its name, it had been separated from North Wales by the Northumbrian conquests in the seventh and first part of the eighth century. It had been granted by the English king Edmund in 945 to Malcolm MacDonald on condition that he should be 'his fellow-worker by land and sea,' and since that date remained a dependency of the Scottish crown, although the English monarchs claimed its suzerainty. It included the whole south-western portion of modern Scotland from the Firth of Clyde to the Solway, whence its inhabitants derived their name of Strathclyde Britons, and although it early received an infusion of Norse settlers on the coast, and, after the Norman Conquest, of Norman barons, its population was still predominantly Celtic. It had been christianised, and the see of Glasgow founded in the time of Kentigern [6th century], but no settled government, either ecclesiastical or civil, had been established. Within its borders Celtic customs still contended with Saxon and Norman law for the mastery, and the language of the natives was still probably Celtic. It extended inland beyond the modern counties of Dumbarton, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, and part of Dumfries to an indeterminate border line which included the modern counties of Lanark and Peebles, where it met Lothian, to the valley of the Nith, which separated it from the southern counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, but even beyond these limits it preserved, ecclesiastically at least, certain places as subject to the jurisdiction of the see of Glasgow.²

The kingdom of Cumbria originally extended from the Firth of Clyde to the river Derwent, including what was afterwards the dioceses of Glasgow, Galloway, and Carlisle. That portion, which extended, however, from the Solway Firth to the river Derwent, and afterwards³ formed the diocese of Carlisle, was wrested from the Scots by William Rufus in 1092, and was bestowed by Henry the First upon Ranulf de Meschines. David's possessions in Cumbria consisted, therefore, of the counties of Lanark, Ayr, Renfrew, Dumfries, and Peebles, and the inquisition contains lands in these counties.⁴

¹ *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 21. 482.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 14. 117.

³ In 1133, the first bishop being Adelulf; see p. 127, note 2.

⁴ Skene, *Celtic Scotland* 1. 456; cf. Burton, *History of Scotland* 2. 61-2.

At the revival of the episcopate of Glasgow, under David I, the whole churches of Dumfriesshire were included within its jurisdiction. The authority of the bishops of Glasgow over the parishes of Eskdale, Ewisdale, Dryfesdale, Annandale, Glencairn, and Strathnith, with a part of Cumberland, was confirmed by Pope Alexander in 1178, by Lucius in 1181, and by Urban in 1186 A. D. Several of the churches with their revenues belonged to the bishops of Glasgow, as the property of their see. From the munificence of Robert de Bruce, the bishop of Glasgow acquired, about the year 1174, the property of the churches of Moffat and Kirkpatrick.¹

Hic Henricus . . . videns Johannem Episcopum Glasguensem per Cumberlandiam ecclesias dedicare, et cetera officia pontificalia secundum morem juris antiqui perficere, etc.²

The inquisition made in 1120 or 1121 into the lands belonging to the see of Glasgow by the elders and wise men of Cumbria by command of David, its earl, is a unique and valuable record of his method of procedure. Its preamble bears that disturbances had not only destroyed the church but laid waste the whole region, and that the tribes of different languages now inhabiting it had relapsed into a condition more resembling heathens than christians, and that God had now sent to them David, the brother of the king of Scotland, as their prince. It then recites that David through zeal for religion had ordered an inquest to be made of the possessions formerly belonging to the see of Glasgow that they might be restored to it. The names of the lands of the church thus restored are, as might be expected, chiefly Celtic, and formed, whether they originally belonged to the see of Kentigern or not, the later diocese of Glasgow. The inquest concludes with the names of five witnesses who swore to it and a larger number who were present and heard it read. Their names, a strange medley of Celtic, Saxon, and Norman, afford a pregnant proof of the mixed population even among the class of landowners.³

Has vero auxilio et investigatione seniorum hominum et sapientorum totius Cumbrie pro posse suo investigavit, que inferius subscribuntur. . . . Has terras juraverunt fore pertinentes Ecclesie Glasgu, rogatu et imperio supradicti principis, Uchtred filius Waldef, *Gill filius Boed*, Leysyng et Oggo, Cumbrenses iudices, Halden filius Eadulf. Hujus rei testes sunt, etc.⁴

¹ Chalmers, *Caledonia* 5. 148.

² Fordun, *Scotichron.* 8. 3.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 14. 117-8.

⁴ David's Inquest, in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* 2. 18; also in *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne Club) 1. 7.

Bueth, a name occurring twice among 12th century landholders in North Cumberland, is probably Gaelic *Buidh*, modern *Boyd*, i. e., "yellow-haired." The relatives of the two Bueths bear Gaelic and Norse names, as well as Norman, later on: so that it may be presumed these people, whether one family or not, were originally Gallgael, or Viking who had intermarried with Gaels. Bewcastle, and also Buetholme and Buethby (Norse place-names) are obviously derived from Bueth (Chancellor Prescott's *Wetherhal*, p. 197). The two Bueths are (a) father of Gilles—not the French Giles, but Gillēs which, like Malise, means "Servant of Jesus" (Giolla-Iosa in full Gaelic spelling). This Gilles was a Cumbrian witness in an inquisition as to the lands of Glasgow Church, 1120-1121, and owned "Gilles-land" to his death, after which it was given to Hubert de Vallibus (1157) (*Wetherhal*, p. 195-6); (b) Bueth or Bueth-barn (i. e., Bueth "the childe," *junior*; though Chancellor Prescott says "Bueth's child"). He gave land in Bewcastle to Wetherhal Priory, and his son Robert confirmed the grant (1177-8). Robert joined William the Lion (1173-4) and was fined one mark for the act of rebellion (Pipe Rolls, 1177). His name appears in several charters with contemporary lords and clerics. . . . We cannot say that Bueth-barn was descended from Bueth, father of Gillēs, but as it was common to give a grandson his grandfather's name, it is likely that we have four generations:—Bueth, Gillēs, Bueth-barn, Robert.¹

Bueth, or Buec, or Boed, would seem to have held the district which afterwards formed the Barony of Gilsland, or Gillesland, and the country immediately to the north of it. The name appears here as in the place name Buchastre, Buchcastre, or Buethcastre. . . . In the Pipe Rolls, we find that Robert son of Bueth was fined one marc in 1177, for having been with the enemies of the king. He is witness to several of the charters of Robert de Vallibus and others of the period (*Regist. Lanercost*, MS. i, 6, 8; ii, 9, 12). Robert de Buethcastre is said to have given the Church of Bewcastle to the Priory of Carlisle. . . . The name Bueth appears in other places in Gilsland, as Buetholme and Buethby (*Regist. Lanercost*, MS. iii, 8 *et al.*). . . . The castle, of later date than the time of Gille son of Bueth, probably occupies the site of the castle where the family of Bueth resided, and where Gilles son of Bueth held the district until his death. . . . It was called Bewecastell as early as 1488 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.* ed. Bain, iv. 345).²

*Carta Mabilie filie Adæ filij Richeri de Buchcastre facta monachis de Wederhale de XIV acris terre in Buchcastre.*³

¹ Collingwood, quoted by Curwen, *St. Cuthbert's Church, Bewcastle*, in *Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiq. and Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N. S. 2 (1902). 243.

² Prescott, *Register of the Priory of Wetherhal* (Elliott Stock, 1897), pp. 195-7.

³ Prescott, p. 199.

On the banks of the Irthing close to the Roman wall, in the country which we now associate with the genius of Sir Walter Scott, Robert de Vaux son of Hubert de Vaux, lord of Gillesland, founded the priory of Lanercost for regular canons of the Order of St. Augustine. Tradition places the foundation in 1169, which agrees with the evidence of the earliest charter of the house. . . . The grantor assigned to God and St. Mary Magdalene of Lanercost and to the regular canons there the lawn (*landa*) of Lanercost between the ancient wall and the Irthing and between, etc. . . . certain lawns by bounds as 'Gille son of Bueth' held them. . . .

In several of these charters, when he had occasion to refer to his territorial title, he reverted to the old phrase employed by Henry II in the original enfeoffment of his family and repeated by himself in his foundation charter, 'infra baroniam quam dominus rex Henricus Anglie dedit patri meo et mihi in terra que fuit Gille filii Bueth.' Few of the religious houses founded by subjects in the northern counties can point to a patron more distinguished in personal qualities than Lanercost, for Robert de Vaux, immortalized by Jordan Fantosme, his contemporary, was a valiant soldier, a great judge, a prudent statesman, and a munificent benefactor of his church and country. The example he set was infectious, for his family, kindred and descendants rank foremost among those who contributed to the prosperity and welfare of the priory. . . . In common with the other religious houses of the county, the small proprietors were as forward in making bequests according to their station as the great magnates.¹

The manor of Buchecastre is mentioned in No. 109. It lies about 7 miles due north of Lanercost and is the northernmost part of the County of Cumberland, touching Scotland on the northwest and Northumberland on the east and northeast. Here was a Roman station, not far from the Maiden Way, and in the church is the famous Saxon Runic Cross. The castle, of later date than the time of Gille son of Bueth, probably occupies the site of the castle where the family of Bueth resided, and where Gille son of Bueth held the district until his death.²

¹ *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 152-3.

² Prescott, p. 197. The name of Bewcastle is given as Buthecaster in 1249 (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 125), Bothecastre in 1299-1300, 1357-8, castle of Bothe in 1401 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ed. Bain, Vol. 4, nos. 2, 585, 1776), Bewecastell in 1488 (*ibid.*, no. 1542).

The following items with respect to the Bewcastle church are extracted from Curwen's paper (see p. 97, above). Referring to the early period, he says (p. 245): 'The low narrow quaint old church with rude walls and thatched roof [this must be conjectural] would become by degrees of greater importance and be rebuilt at the lord's instigation in the prevailing Early English style [1189-1272, Parker], as is still noticeable in the triple east-

If Bewcastle did not belong to Scottish Cumbria, it certainly lay within the territory which fell more and more under David's influence after he became king.

In the beginning of the year 1136 he led an army across the border, and made himself master of every castle in Cumberland and Northumberland except Bamborough, penetrating as far as Durham.¹

[After the battle of the Standard in 1138] at Carlisle peace was made. . . . David gave hostages, but retained Carlisle and Cumberland without any condition of homage.²

end windows of the church.' In 1279 permission was obtained for a fair and market to be held here. 'The living was valued in Pope Nicholas' valuation, 1291-2, *Ecclesia de Botecastre*, at £ 19: 0: 0; in 1318 it was not taxed: *quia non sufficiunt pro stipendio capellani*. In 1546 *Bewcastell rectoria valet per an' tempore pacis* £ 2: 0: 0; *tempore guerre, nihil*. At the first date, the bishop of Carlisle had a pension on Bewcastle vicaria of 6/8; at the second, nil; nothing said at the third date. In 1298 the Scots harried the region. Robert de Southayle was rector between 1306 and 1356, being the first of whom we have record. After 1580, Camden speaks of the church as being 'now almost quite ruined' [cf. *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 78]. In the year 1792 'it was practically rebuilt, and irredeemably spoilt. Six and a half yards were cut off the nave [cf. what is said of the Ruthwell renovation, p. 139, below] at the west end, reducing its length by one third, and the curiously ugly tower, I suppose, erected as a set-off. . . . The vandals . . . pierced the upper parts of the southern wall with a second tier of three square sashed windows. There are no windows in the northern wall, and it would seem that this is customary in all buildings in this stormy district' (p. 246). 'The dean and chapter of Carlisle are still the patrons' (p. 248). 'In 1899 the old fabric was found to be not only out of repair, but dangerous. . . . As much as possible has been preserved, and the changes introduced are in the style of the Early English part of the building. The restored church was opened on Sunday, November 3, 1901' (pp. 253-4).

It thus appears that the earliest mention of the church was in 1291-2, but that, if we may trust the inference from the windows of the east end, the building must have been in existence considerably before that time. In 1294, it may be noted, there was a 'hospital'—an almshouse—at Bewcastle. This was known as the Hospital of Lennham—for so we must probably interpret the *Lennh'* of the Latin. 'The collectors of the tenth, given by the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle in 1294 to Edward I. for the Holy Land, refer to this house—and reported that the hospital of Lennh' in Bewcastle (*Hospitale de Lennh' in Bothecaster*) was unable to pay the assessment as the land belonging to it lay uncultivated' (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 204).

¹ P. H. Brown, *History of Scotland* 1. 77.

² *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 21. 483.

A. D. 1092. William Rufus, and A. D. 1122 Henry I., occupy and fortify Carlisle.

A. D. 1136. David regains English Cumberland.

A. D. 1147. Cumberland (English) with Northumberland and Durham ceded to Scotland by the Treaty of Carlisle.¹

Strathclyde, which from 908–1034 had probably extended to the eastern and southern boundaries of the subsequent sees of Glasgow and Carlisle, was in the latter year merged in the Scottish crown and kingdom. From 1070–1091 Scottish kings ruled over Cumberland and Northumberland as well as over Scottish Cumbria, but in 1092 William Rufus wrested English Cumbria from Dolph, lord of Carlisle, a vassal of the Scottish Malcolm, and rebuilt the castle of Carlisle, making the adjoining country for the first time English.² From 1136 English Cumbria remained in possession of Scotland till 1157.³ The relation of Hexham to David I is particularly interesting in this connection.

The administration of Cumberland during the reign of Henry II. was a delicate task in view of its Scottish sympathies and associations, requiring all the resources of tact and skill to complete its incorporation as a portion of the English commonwealth. The king took a personal interest in the recovered province and visited Carlisle from time to time as the public affairs of the district called for his immediate attention. He came north in 1158 and held a conference with King Malcolm in that city. . . . It was on this visit that King Henry committed to Hubert de Vaux the barony of Gillesland, a wide tract abutting the frontier on the east which had been previously held by Gille son of Boet, a local chieftain who appears to have acknowledged no feudal superior. The presence of a Scottish element among the territorial owners, which the King of Scotland was not backward in utilizing as it suited his purpose, was a constant danger to the peace of the district.⁴

¹ Haddan and Stubbs 2. 10.

² *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 21. 481.

³ Haddan and Stubbs 2. 27.

⁴ *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 244–5. Haddan and Stubbs (2. 13) thus define the boundary with which we are most immediately concerned, that in the direction of Bewcastle: 'All Cumbria was never within the see of Hexham, only that part of what is now Cumberland which lies east from Wetherall, on the Eden above Carlisle, up to the boundaries of Northumberland. . . . What really happened, plainly was, that Hexhamshire (and indeed the whole northern district) being absolutely devastated by William the Conqueror, Thomas I. of York (A. D. 1070–1100) took possession of it, and no doubt of Cumbria also, as a sort of waif and stray; and that Henry I. confirmed

As long as the earldoms of Cumberland and Northumberland were appanages of his royal house, Hexham occupied a most important position on the frontiers of his territory. It was of the utmost consequence to him to have a monastery like that which lay between his two towns of Carlisle and Newcastle, thoroughly devoted to his interests. David certainly succeeded in securing and retaining the good opinion of the canons of Hexham. When Priors Richard and John describe the cruelties of the Scots in the invasion of 1138, the blame is laid not on the leader, but on his followers. Of David they always speak with reverence and affection.¹

The canons of Hexham had good cause to speak of David with affection. They were really more under his control than under that of Stephen, and they would hear with wondering delight of the monasteries which their patron was erecting in the North, and of the dioceses which he created or remodelled.²

In Carlisle they [the canons of Hexham] had one or two plots of ground with a house or two upon them of the gift of David king of Scotland and Henry his son. . . . Passing by the archbishops of York and their numerous gifts, we find among the donors many of the great potentates and barons of Northumberland. First and foremost is David king of Scotland, with his son and grandson prince Henry and William the Lion.³

In 1149, Henry Fitz-Empress, later Henry II., arrived at Carlisle, and was knighted, promising, if ever he became king, to confirm to David and his heirs the lands between Tweed and Tyne. . . . Thanks to the troubles of Stephen's reign, David was now master of England, as far south as the Tees, with a promise of continuance, if Henry Fitz-Empress succeeded to the English throne.⁴

The whole of the north of England beyond the Tees had now [ca. 1150 ?] for several years been under the influence, if not under the direct authority, of the Scottish king, and the comparative prosperity of this part of the kingdom, contrasting strongly with the anarchy

that possession to Thomas II. (A. D. 1109-1113). See Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. 220, App. p. viii, and Pref. pp. xlvii, lvi.' Elsewhere they say (2. 11), defining the ancient Strathclyde, that it 'would include about two-thirds only of Westmoreland on the east; although probably including also the district east of Wetherall in Cumberland up to the present county boundaries of Northumberland and Durham.'

¹ Raine 1. lxxi; cf. p. lxix.

² *Ibid.* 1. 168, note w.

³ *Ibid.* 2. xv.

⁴ Lang, *History of Scotland* 1. 107-8.

prevailing in every other quarter, naturally inclined the population of the northern counties to look with favor upon a continuance of the Scottish connection. All southward of the Tyne, indeed, was held probably in the name of the Empress Queen, but the influence of David extended far beyond the Tees.¹

As an illustration of the community of religious and cultural interests on both sides of the Border, and the reciprocal influences of southern Scotland and northern England, the abbey of Holmcultram, founded in 1150 under David's influence, if not by David himself, deserves particular attention.

The abbey of Holmcultram,² situated in the low-lying district between Carlisle and the Solway, was founded as an affiliation of the great Cistercian house of Melrose by Prince Henry, son of David, King of Scotland, in the year 1150, while he was ruler of the province ceded to Scotland by King Stephen and afterwards known as the county of Cumberland. In this great work he was assisted by Alan son of Waldeve, the lord of Allerdale, who relinquished to the new foundation the tract of territory which Henry had given him for a sporting domain. The act of the prince of Scotland and his vassal was confirmed by King David.³ . . . This great abbey, which overshadowed in riches and influence the rest of the religious houses in Cumberland and Westmorland, had many friends and benefactors on both sides of the Border before the rupture with Scotland in 1296. Endowments were freely lavished upon it by landowners, large and small, in various parts of the two counties. . . . The Scottish possessions were chiefly in Annandale, the fief of the Brus or Bruce family, and in Galloway, the principality of Fergus. Free trade with Scotland was conceded by William the Lion and free passage through the Vale of Annan by Robert de Brus. The kings of Man⁴ allowed the ships of the monks to visit the ports of the island and to buy and sell free of toll. . . . The abbey of Melrose was brought into intimate relations with Holmcultram, and often exercised an effective jurisdiction over the affairs of the monastery. . . . In various ways we see the subjection of Holmcultram to the Scottish house.⁵

¹ Robertson 1. 222.

² 17 miles S. W. of Carlisle, on the river Waver.

³ Wyntoun and Fordun say that it was founded by David (Wyntoun, ed. Laing, 3. 333; Fordun 1. 347).

⁴ 'At one time the ships of the convent traversed the Irish Sea and carried on a brisk trade with Ireland and the Isle of Man' (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 167).

⁵ *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 162-4.

The church in the twelfth century was not insular or national, belonging to one race or one kingdom: it claimed an universal sovereignty over all nations. For this reason no doubt the political frontier which marked off the English from the Scottish kingdom was scarcely recognized at the outset among the benevolent landowners who first endowed religious institutions in this part of the country. But apart from religious considerations there was a community of feeling as well as an identity of aim among the people on both sides of the national boundary. By ties of property, intermarriage and old associations, the inhabitants of ancient Cumbria remained practically one people for a long period after they had become politically separated. The needs of the church knew no political barriers. Religious houses in Scotland received grants from the lords of Cumberland after the severance of the diocese from Scottish rule. National prejudice did not hinder Scottish laymen from extending their benevolence to institutions on the English side of the Border. . . . The favors conferred on Scottish monasteries by Cumberland landowners were reciprocated from the other side. On the western border alone many instances might be given wherein the great lords of Annandale and Galloway were equally considerate to English institutions. No small portion of the endowments of the abbey of Holmcultram was situated in Galloway and on the northern shore of the Solway. The family of Brus, the owners of the great fief of Annandale, were among the foremost benefactors of the priory of Gisburn in Yorkshire. The priory of Lanercost had rent charges in Dumfries. It is true that family ties or national sentiment had much to do with several of these endowments. One might expect that the abbey of Holmcultram should possess strong claims upon Scottish liberality, seeing that it was of Scottish foundation and the only institution left in the district as a relic of the Scottish occupation. Making due allowance for considerations of this sort, we should not forget the strong international sentiment which pervaded the people of both kingdoms.¹

2. A POWER WHICH COULD MAKE ITSELF RESPECTED
IN A RUDE AGE, AND ONE MAKING APPEAL TO VARIOUS
NATIONALITIES

As to the power wielded by David, this was due to his royal descent, since he was not only rightful heir to the Scottish crown, but was at least, in the estimation of many, one of the rightful heirs to the crown of England through his mother Margaret, a lineal descendant of King Alfred, and sister of the last Saxon king of England; to his close alliance with the new royal house of England,

¹ *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 14, 15. On the connection between Carlisle and Holyrood, see *ibid.* 2. 15.

through the marriage of his sister, Matilda, with Henry I, son of William the Conqueror ; to the veneration and affection in which his mother and his sister were held ; to his residence at the English court, which gave him access to the first men of his time ; to his grasp of Norman institutions, and his employment of Norman auxiliaries ; to the welcome he extended to foreigners, and his enlistment of various nationalities in his enterprises ; to his warm championship of the Church, and his patronage of its most powerful agencies ; not to speak of his own personal qualities, which can only be measured by his success in turning every advantage to account—in other words, by the sum total of his achievement. Some of these points have already been touched upon above ; others will now be presented ; while still others are matters of common knowledge, or can readily be found in encyclopædias and other standard works of reference.

The only son of Queen Margaret now left was David, the youngest. He appears, while yet a youth, to have accompanied his sister Matilda to the English court, on her marriage with Henry the First, king of England, which took place in November 1100, during the reign of Eadgar over Scotland, and here he was trained, with other young Norman barons, in all the feudal usages, so as to become, by education and association with the young English nobility, imbued with feudal ideas, and surrounded by Norman influences, or, as William of Malmesbury expresses it, ' polished from a boy by intercourse and familiarity with us.'¹

He married Maud the daughter of Waltheof, by Judith the niece of William the Conqueror ; and David became afterwards possessed of the great earldoms of Huntingdon and Northumberland ; so that he was, at the time of his accession to the crown of Scotland, the most powerful subject in England.²

While the king of the French was struggling for bare existence against refractory barons as powerful as himself, while England was distracted by the wars of Stephen and Maud so that men said that ' Christ and his saints were asleep,' Scotland enjoyed a peace and prosperity which made her a refuge for exiles and a mart for foreign countries. . . . By a politic marriage he [David] gained an influence and a prestige beyond the border which for a time made him arbiter of the fortunes of England. His wife, Matilda, granddaughter of Siward of Northumbria, brought him the Honour of Huntingdon, with lands in at least six English counties,

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland* 1. 454.

² Guthrie, *History of Scotland* 1. 303.

the earldom of Northampton during her lifetime, and a claim to the earldom of Northumberland, which David practically made good during the latter half of his reign.¹

The prince of Scotland [Henry, David's son] was then the representative of the old Anglo-Saxon kings, to whom the English had still a strong affection. Stephen therefore treated him [1136] with all the honors due to the first prince of the blood.²

Edgar the Ætheling, with his mother Agatha, his sisters Margaret and Christina, and the last relics of the English nobility, resolved to sail for Wearmouth, and to seek a shelter at the court of Malcolm, King of Scotland.³

This prudent queen directed all such things as it was fitting for her to regulate; the laws of the realm were administered by her counsel; by her care the influence of religion was extended, and the people rejoiced in the prosperity of their affairs. Nothing was firmer than her fidelity, steadier than her favour, or juster than her decisions; nothing was more enduring than her patience, graver than her advice, or more pleasant than her conversation.⁴

There is perhaps no more beautiful character recorded in history than that of Margaret. For purity of motives, for an earnest desire to benefit the people among whom her lot was cast, for a deep sense of religion and great personal piety, for the unselfish performance of whatever duty lay before her, and for entire self-abnegation, she is unsurpassed, and the chroniclers of the time all bear testimony to her exalted character.⁵

Margaret became the mirror of wives, mothers, and queens, and none ever more worthily earned the honors of saintship. Her gentle influence reformed whatever needed to be reformed in her husband, and none labored more diligently for the advance of temporal and spiritual enlightenment in her adopted country.⁶

It is owing in great measure to this virtuous education given by Margaret to her sons that Scotland was governed for the space of 200 years by seven excellent kings, that is, by her three sons, Edgar, Alexander, David, by David's two grandsons, Malcolm IV. and William, and

¹ Brown 1. 74-5.

² Guthrie, p. 306.

³ Turgot, *Life of St. Margaret*, tr. Forbes-Leith, p. 11.

⁴ Turgot, p. 29.

⁵ Skene 2. 344.

⁶ Freeman, *Norman Conquest* 3. 12.

William's son and grandson, Alexander II. and III. ; during which space the nation enjoyed greater happiness than perhaps it ever did before or after.¹

And soon afterwards the king [Henry I] took for his wife Maud the daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland and of the good queen Margaret, King Edward's kinswoman, of the true royal line of England.²

The shout of the English multitude when he [Anselm] set the crown on Matilda's brow drowned the murmur of Churchman or of baron. . . . For the first time since the Conquest, an English sovereign sat on the English throne. The blood of Cerdic and Ælfred was to blend itself with that of Hrolf and the Conqueror.³

Like her mother, she [Matilda] was very pious, wearing a hair shirt, going barefoot round the churches in Lent, and devoting herself especially to the care of lepers, . . . besides building a hospital for them at St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London. . . . In her convent days she had 'learned and practised the literary art,' and six letters written by her to Anselm, . . . as well as one to Pope Paschal II, . . . display a scholarship unusual among laymen, and probably still more among women, in her day. . . . She was a warm patroness of verse and song; she gave lavishly to musical clerks, to scholars, poets, and strangers of all sorts, who were drawn to her court by the fame of her bounty, and who spread her praises far and wide. . . . Robert of Gloucester over and over again ascribes to her a direct, personal, and most beneficial influence on the condition of England under Henry I, and finally declares that 'the goodness that she did here to England cannot all be here written, nor by any one understood.'⁴

Matilda appears to have been very amiable, very devout, very fond of music and poetry, very vain, and rather pretty; not a perfect, but a feminine and lovable character, which earned her the title of 'Good Queen Maud.'⁵

An intimate connection with the Court of England for upwards of a quarter of a century, had effectually 'rubbed off the Scottish rust' from David—to use the words of his contemporary Malmesbury—con-

¹ Turgot, p. 35, note.

² *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* s. ann. 1100.

³ Green, *Short History of the English People*, Chap. 2, Sec. 6.

⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 37. 53. It may be worth noting that the date of her death is entered in the Chartulary of Chartres Cathedral, as donor of a new lead roof, a chasuble bordered with gold, forty pounds for the use of the monks, etc. Cf. below, p. 128.

⁵ Robertson l. 153, note.

verting him into a feudal baron; and many years before he was called upon to fill the throne (1124-1153), he had gathered around him in his Cumbrian principality a body of knights and barons, from whom sprung the older Norman chivalry of Scotland.¹

The fear of the mail-clad auxiliaries, whom the long residence and popularity of the Earl at his sister's court would have enabled him to call to his aid, at length extorted from Alexander a tardy and reluctant recognition of his brother's claims upon Scottish Cumbria.²

David was thus, to all intents and purposes, a Norman baron when the death of his brother Eadgar placed him, by his bequest, in possession of almost the entire Scottish territory south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde.³

The dignitaries at the court of Alexander were exclusively . . . the nobility of ancient *Alban* and the Lothians; whilst around Earl David gathered Moreville and Somerville, Lindsay and Umphraville, Bruce and Fitz-Alan, Norman names destined to surround the throne of his descendants, two of them to become royal, and all to shed a lustre upon the feudal chivalry of Scotland.⁴

But it was during David's own reign that the Norman element attained such a predominance as to become the great formative influence in the Scottish kingdom. Many circumstances combined to make David a strong and fortunate monarch, yet the most potent influence that sustained him in all his undertakings was the disciplined strength of the Norman knights and barons behind him.⁵

Both Normans and English came to Scotland in crowds in the days of Margaret, Edgar, and David. In Scotland again the Norman settlers were lost in the mixed nationality of the country, but not till they had modified many things in the same way in which they modified things in England.⁶

Following the example of his fellows elsewhere, the southern baron planted a castle on the most advantageous site on his new estate. With him he brought a body of retainers, by whose aid he at once secured his own position, and wrought such changes in his neighborhood as were

¹ Robertson 1. 187.

² *Ibid.* 1. 171.

³ Skene 1. 455.

⁴ Robertson 1. 184.

⁵ Brown 1. 73.

⁶ *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 17. 551.

consistent with the conditions on which his fief had been granted. . . . By the close of David's reign the most valuable part of his dominion was held by vassals and subvassals who looked to him as their feudal head.¹

The reign of David I. is beyond doubt the true commencement of feudal Scotland, and the term of Celtic Scotland becomes no longer appropriate to it as a kingdom. Under his auspices feudalism rapidly acquired predominance in the country, and its social state and institutions became formally assimilated to Norman forms and ideas, while the old Celtic element in her constitutional history gradually retired into the background. During this and the subsequent reigns the outlying districts, which had hitherto maintained a kind of semi-independence under their native rulers, and in which they were more tenaciously adhered to, were gradually brought under the more direct power of the monarch and incorporated into the kingdom.²

In this charter [1113] he calls himself Earl David, son of Malcolm, king of Scots, and addressed it to all his adherents, Normans, Angles, and Scots.³

David, who had been long preparing for war, had gathered his army from every quarter of his dominions; and around the royal standard, the ancient Dragon of Wessex, might be seen the representatives of nearly every race contributing to form the varied ancestry of the modern Scottish people. The Norman knight and the Low Country 'Reiter,' the sturdy Angle and the fiery Scot, marched [1138] side by side with the men of Northumberland and Cumberland, of Lothian and of Teviotdale; whilst the mixed population of the distant islands, Norwegians from the Orkneys, and the wild Picts of Galloway, flocked in crowds to the banner of their king, to revel in the plunder of the south.⁴

Norwegians from Orkney, Scots from Alba, Angles from Lothian, Norman knights, and apparently even mercenaries from Germany, formed his motley following. One other element, however, deserves special mention, as from this time forward it was to play a noticeable part in the general history of Scotland. From the beginning of David's doings in England, the Galwegians, or Picts, as they are otherwise styled by the contemporary chroniclers, had played a prominent part in all his operations. By their fierce insubordination and their savage

¹ Brown 1. 90.

² Skene 1. 459-60.

³ *Ibid.* 1. 455.

⁴ Robertson 1. 196.

treatment of the conquered English, they had distinguished themselves among the rest of David's host.¹

The dominating fact of the period is the extensive assignment of lands within the bounds of Scotland to men of Norman, Saxon, or Danish extraction. Wherever these strangers settled they formed centres of force, compelling acceptance of the new order in church and state by the reluctant natives.²

From all we know of Strathclyde and Galloway previous to the time of the Saxonized and Normanized kings, extensive districts must have consisted of waste land, which could be alienated without great injustice being done to existing rights.³

In discussing such topographical investigations, it ought constantly to be remarked that the great influx of English, who then spoke Saxon, Anglo-Normans, and Flemings under David I. and his two grandsons, Malcolm and William, who themselves spoke Saxon, must necessarily have had the greatest effect in changing the names of places in Scotland; as they mostly all received, from those sovereigns, grants of lands, and generally gave new names to their Scottish estates. The several maps of the shires of Scotland are the best evidence of the truth of this reasoning.⁴

Conciliation may be described as the leading principle of David's policy. . . . He is said to have succeeded in establishing a more durable state of concord amongst the heterogeneous population of his kingdom, than existed at that period amongst people enjoying far higher advantages.⁵

Of feudal and historical Scotland; of the Scotland which counts Edinburgh amongst her fairest cities, and Glasgow, as well as Perth and Aberdeen; of the familiar Scotland of Bruce and of the Stewarts, David was unquestionably the creator.⁶

Southern Scotland was the creation of David. He embellished it with the monasteries of his religious foundations; he strengthened it with the castles of his feudal baronage; and here he established the nucleus of feudal Scotland, and the foundation of that importance which eventually transferred the preponderance in the kingdom to

¹ Brown 1. 80.

² *Ibid.* 1. 88.

³ *Ibid.* 1. 89.

⁴ Chalmers, *Caledonia* 5. 62.

⁵ Robertson 1. 229.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1. 319-20.

the south. Strath Clyde and the Lothians were admirably adapted to his purpose, for all the land appears to have been in direct dependence on the crown; he could stud it at will with his favourite Anglo-Norman chivalry.¹

Never was Scotland at any period of her history more powerful relatively to her southern neighbor, than during the last ten years of David's reign.²

Of all the reigns of Scottish kings that of David is undoubtedly the most memorable in every aspect of the life of a people. . . . The transformation wrought by David placed the country in new relations to the other countries of Christendom. But besides remoulding the church, he recast the social condition of the people in such degree as makes his reign an epoch in the national development. At no period of its history has Scotland ever stood relatively so high in the scale of nations. By a fortunate combination of circumstances, the country profited beyond its neighbors in the great awakening of Christendom throughout the 11th century. It was the age of St. Bernard, whose name is associated with three of the great movements that absorbed the heart and mind of the time.³

Beyond all David's achievements it was what he did for the church that gave him his great name among the kings of Scotland. In the words of Wyntoun:

He illumynyd in his dayis

His landys wyth kyrkys and wyth abbayis.

In this work also he was no initiator; but by the extent of the changes he wrought, he definitively made the Church of Rome the national Church of Scotland. . . . More palpable memorials of David's munificence are the great abbeys he founded for the various orders who came to divide the country among them—Kelso, Dryburgh, Melrose, Newbattle, Dundrennan, Kinloss, Cambuskenneth, Holyrood, and Jedburgh.⁴

David was, if any man was, the maker of Scotland. The bishoprics erected by him, and his many Lowland abbeys, Holyrood, Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, Jedburgh and others, confirmed the freedom of the Scottish church from the claims of the see of York, encouraged the improvement of agriculture, and endowed the country with beautiful examples of architecture. . . . From the time of David to the death of Alexander III, Scotland was relatively peaceful, prosperous, and, in the south, Anglicized, and was now in the general movement of western civilization.⁵

¹ Robertson 1. 233.

² *Ibid.* 1. 224-5.

³ Brown 1. 74.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1. 94.

⁵ Andrew Lang, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 24. 433.

II. THE MOTIVE OR MOTIVES WHICH ACTUATED THE PRODUCTION

The various purposes with which crosses were erected during the earlier Middle Ages are to some extent touched upon in the quotations that follow. In some cases, other motives than those here specified may perhaps be inferred from the character of the ornamentation or inscriptions, the situation where the crosses are found, or the dispositions and aims of those instrumental in the erection.

The object of the erection of the more important free standing crosses was not as sepulchral memorials, but they were intended to be either dedicatory, commemorative, terminal, churchyard, or wayside crosses, being always placed in a prominent position, so as to attract the attention of the passer-by, and direct his mind to the contemplation of holy things, and more especially the Crucifixion and Resurrection of our Lord.¹

The inscriptions upon the high crosses of Ireland show that these monuments were not sepulchral, because in cases where names of persons are mentioned they are known to have been buried elsewhere.² The cross in Kells churchyard is inscribed, 'Patricii et Columbæ Crux' (the Cross of SS. Patrick and Columba); and since neither of the saints here mentioned were buried at Kells, and the character of the ornamentation of the cross showing it to belong to the ninth century, it is clear that the monument is commemorative. We have seen examples of dedicatory inscriptions to St. Peter upon early pillar-stones at Kilnasaggart, in the county of Armagh, and at Whithorne in Wigtonshire; and Fordun relates that in the year A. D. 1260 a cross of great magnificence was dug up at Peebles, upon the base of which was the inscription, 'Locus Sancti Nicholai Episcopi.' Many of the high crosses appear to have been terminal, marking the limits of the sanctuary—as, for instance, at Castle Kieran, co. Meath, the eight mile-crosses at Ripon in Yorkshire, and four at Hexham in Northumberland. Most of the early crosses in Cornwall are situated near the principal doorways of churches, so as to command the attention of worshippers entering the sacred edifice.³

¹ Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 132.

² On the Danish stones, cf. Wimmer, *De Danske Runemindesmærker* 1¹. III.

³ Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 132-3; cf. also his *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 124. With respect to the Irish high crosses, Rivoira has now shown that they belong to the 12th century (see p. 54, note 3); but this would only strengthen the argument, since the most important of them would thus be commemorative of persons who had died a couple of centuries earlier.

At the same time there is no doubt that crosses, other than memorial, were set up in very early Christian times in Britain. Some were erected to mark holy sites, others at preaching stations, and in some cases as limits to rights of sanctuary.¹

The more important crosses, such as those at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, were evidently not sepulchral, but probably erected to commemorate some illustrious personage, and to encourage a devotional frame of mind by setting before the congregation scenes from the Gospels.²

Venerabilis pater Kentegernus [518?-603] antistes habebat in consuetudine, ut in locis quibus prædicando populum acquisitionis nomini Christi subdiderat, et de fide crucis Christi illos imbuerat, aut ibi aliquantisper deguerat, triumphale vexillum sanctæ crucis erigeret, quatinus cunctis daretur intelligi quod in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quam in fronte portabat minime erubesceret. Sed ut mihi videtur, sancti viri consuetudo sanctissima viva ratione multipliciter subnixa est. Ideo namque Sanctus hoc vitale et sanctum et terribile signum erigere consueverat, ut sicut fluit cera a facie ignis, sic inimici humani generis, potestates tenebrarum harum, a conspectu signi hujus liquescentes defluerent, territi atque fugati procul aufugerent.³

For some time he remained in a thickly wooded place, and he erected a cross, from which the place took the English name of Crossfield—that is, *Crucis Novale*—where a new basilica was erected in Jocelyn's time and dedicated in the name of the blessed Kentigern.⁴

A grievous bodily weakness attacked him, and his failing breath gave warning of the end of his life being at hand. . . . And when his parents, in great anxiety of mind, were held in suspense as to the death of their son, they made an offering of him before the great Cross of our Lord and Saviour. For it is the custom of the Saxon race that on many of the estates of nobles and of good men they are wont to have, not a church, but the standard of the holy Cross, dedicated to our Lord, and revered with great honor, lifted up on high, so as to be convenient for the frequency of daily prayer. They laid him there before the Cross, and earnestly, and with all their might, begged our Lord God, the Maker of all things, to console them, and save their son's life.⁵

¹ Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 44.

² Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 210-1; cf. p. 159.

³ Jocelyn, *Vita Kentegerni* 41 (Pinkerton, *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, Vol. 2).

⁴ *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 2.

⁵ St. Willibald, *Hodoeporicon* 2-3 (*Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc.*, Vol. 3).

Fecit quoque cruciculas et oratoriola in campis, et ad fontes, vel ubicumque sibi visum fuit: et iussit ibi publicas orationes celebrari, donec multitudines populorum, spretis cæteris episcopis, et dimissis antiquis ecclesiis in talibus locis conventus celebrarent.¹

'Do so,' replied he; 'go on board, and return home in safety. But, when the Lord shall have taken my spirit, bury me [Cuthbert] in this house, near my oratory, towards the south, over against the eastern side of the holy cross [at Farne], which I have erected there.'²

Fecerat iste [Æthelwold, Bishop of Lindisfarne, 721—ca. 740] de lapide crucem artificii opere expoliri, et in sui memoriam suum in eo nomen exarari. Cujus summitatem multo post tempore, dum ipsam ecclesiam Lindisfarnensem pagani devastarent, fregerunt, sed post artificiosis ingenio reliquæ parti infuso plumbo, ipsa fractura est adjuncta; semperque deinceps cum corpore sancti Cuthberti crux ipsa circumferri solebat, et a populo Northanhymbrorum propter utrumque sanctum in honore haberi: quæ etiam usque hodie in hujus, id est, Dunelmensis ecclesiæ cœmiterio stans sublimis, utrorumque pontificum intuentibus exhibet monumentum.³

In estimating the motives which may have actuated David—supposing him to have been influential, directly or indirectly, in the erection of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses—we must remember his devotion to the cross, which may well have been derived from his mother; his love of the arts in general, and of architecture in particular; and the numerous monasteries which he founded⁴ or re-edified, or whose foundation he confirmed. We must remember, too, his interest in extending his sway, but no less his desire to consolidate, to pacify, to rule by law, to civilize, and to Christianize the territories under his dominion.

Sed cum feria sexta morbus ingravesceret, et ei standi simul et incedendi facultatum, vis languoris adimeret; accersitis clericis, virisque religiosis, Dominici corporis sacramentum sibi dari postulavit. Parantibus illis efferre quod jusserat prohibuit ille, dicens se ante sacrosanctum

¹ Boniface, *Epistola* 57: *Boniface to Pope Zacharias*, A. D. 744 (ed. Giles, 1. 122). This is in an account of Aldibertus, 'natione generis Gallus.'

² Bede, *Life of St. Cuthbert*, ed. Giles 4. 325. Rousseau (*Annales de la Soc. Archéol. de Bruxelles* 18. 71) thinks of the Ruthwell Cross as originally destined for a churchyard, because the runes refer to the death of Christ.

³ Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* 1. 12 (*Rolls Series* 1. 39).

⁴ See p. 117, note 5.

altare sacrosancta mysteria percepturum. Igitur clericorum ac militum manibus in oratorium deportatus, post Missarum solemniam, venerandum sibi Crucem, quam Nigram vocant, produci sibi petiit adorandum.

Est autem crux illa longitudinem habens palmæ, de auro purissimo mirabile opere fabricata, quæ in modum thecæ clauditur et aperitur. Cernitur et quædam Dominicæ crucis portio (sicut sæpe multorum miraculorum argumento probatum est), Salvatoris nostri imaginem habens, de ebore densissime sculptam, et aureis distinctionibus mirabiliter decoratam. Hanc religiosa Regina Margareta, hujus Regis mater, quæ de semine regio Anglorum et Hungariorum extitit oriunda, allatam in Scotiam quasi munus hereditarium transmisit ad filios. Hanc igitur crucem, omni Scotorum genti non minus terribilem quam amabilem, cum Rex devotissime adorasset, cum multis lacrimis peccatorum confessione præmissa, exitum suum cœlestium mysteriorum perceptione munivit.¹

Moreover, she asked that a cross, called the Black Cross, which she always held in the greatest veneration, should be brought to her. There was some delay in opening the chest in which it was kept, during which the queen, sighing deeply, exclaimed, 'O unhappy that we are! O guilty that we are! Shall we not be permitted once more to look upon the Holy Cross!' When at last it was got out of the chest and brought to her, she received it with reverence, and did her best to embrace it and kiss it, and several times she signed herself with it. Although every part of her body was now growing cold, still as long as the warmth of life throbbed at her heart she continued steadfast in prayer. She repeated the whole of the Fiftieth Psalm, and placing the cross before her eyes, she held it there with both her hands.²

With a deep sigh she exclaimed, 'I know it, my boy, I know it. By this holy cross, by the bond of our blood, I adjure you to tell me the truth.'³

Upon holy days, in addition to the hours of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, and Holy Mary, recited within the space of a day and a night, she used to repeat the Psalter twice or thrice.⁴

¹ Ailred of Rievaulx, *De Generositate Regis David*, in Pinkerton 2. 281; cf. Robertson 1. 227. The later history of the Black Cross is told by Lansdale, *Scotland Historic and Romantic*, p. 6, note: 'After the treaty (of Northampton) concluded between King Robert Bruce and Edward III, it was returned to Scotland [it had been taken away by Edward I]. It was carried before the army of David II in the invasion of England in 1346, was captured by the English at the battle of Neville's Cross, placed in the shrine of St. Cuthbert in the cathedral of Durham, and disappeared at the time of the Reformation'; cf. Turgot, p. 77, note 1.

² Turgot, pp. 76-77.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

She also placed there [at Dunfermline] a cross of priceless value, bearing the figure of our Saviour, which she had caused to be covered with the purest gold and silver studded with gems, a token even to the present day of the earnestness of her faith. She left proofs of her devotion and fervour in various other churches, as witness the Church of St. Andrews, in which is preserved a most beautiful crucifix erected by her there, and remaining even at the present day. Her chamber was never without such objects, those I mean which appertained to the dignity of the divine service. It was, so to speak, a workshop of sacred art.¹

There, as she herself had directed, we committed it [Margaret's body] to the grave, opposite the altar and the venerable sign of the Holy Cross which she had erected.²

It is justly said (as will later be shown in detail) that 'southern Scotland was the creation of David.' He introduced his Norman and English friends, with their civilization. He founded abbeys, he aided burghs, he encouraged art and agriculture, he was 'the Commons' King,' he brought Scotland within the circle of European chivalry, manners, trade, and education.³

The Lowland abbeys founded by David, as Holyrood, Melrose, Jedburgh, Kelso, Dryburgh, and others, were centres of letters, tillage, and nascent civilisation. In art, of course, Scotland was now perhaps more civilised than it has ever been since, where art is concerned. David's attachment to Anglo-Norman friends was, partly, a matter of taste; partly, too, he found them useful against his Celtic subjects. They were the examples and sources of such European culture as reached Scotland.⁴

As we doat over the picturesque beauty of the broken details which are left to us, and try to conjure up the great unity which in each case they constituted, we cannot but feel that in those otherwise dim and barbarous early centuries, there was a sense of vastness and of regal magnificence in art which has not since then flourished as a genuine growth in our land, and that the power of imagination which could so embody itself was inspired by a deep and faithful state of the human soul, interpenetrated by the emotions of awe and grandeur, and purified by reverence and the sense of an encompassing invisible reality.⁵

¹ Turgot, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³ Lang l. 109; cf. p. 93.

⁴ *Ibid.* l. 109.

⁵ Veitch, *Hist. and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, p. 167.

The tidal wave of architectural activity which swept over Europe in the latter half of the Middle Ages reached its high-water mark in the north of France; but the influence of its motion was felt, in diminishing degrees, in every direction from that centre. Its impetus toward the north was aided by the Norman conquest of England, whence it rolled on to break in ripples over the furthest shores of Scotland.

Few and meagre were the monastic edifices in Scotland at the end of the eleventh century; rude and primitive were the castles of the Scottish chiefs until Saxon England had become Norman England, and the effects of this change had revolutionized the whole of Great Britain. The Conqueror himself invaded Scotland, receiving homage from Malcolm III. A few years later the Norman king, Henry I., sought a Scottish bride, Matilda, daughter of Malcolm. This alliance became the entering wedge for Norman influence in Scotland. Matilda brought with her to the court of the English king her young brother David. Growing up amid Norman surroundings, receiving his education from a Norman bishop, David returned to Scotland, to become king in course of time, more Norman than Scot. Two features seem to have been infused into the character of David by his education: a devout religious enthusiasm and the Norman building spirit. Monumental evidence of this was given even before he became king. Returning from England he retired to Jedburgh, then the chief town of the Middle Marches, and there, in 1118, erected a beautiful and extensive abbey for the reception of an abbot with a large following of Benedictine monks from Beauvais.

What William the Norman was to the architecture of England, David I. was to that of Scotland. Upon his accession to the throne, in 1124, he made large grants of crown lands to the Church, founded abbeys at Holyrood, Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, Kinloss, and Cambuskenneth; elevated the ancient abbey of Dunblane to the dignity of a cathedral; drove the Culdees from their church at Dunkeld and established there the seat of a bishopric. In fact, it is unusual to find an establishment in the whole domain that David did not either found or enrich. His excessive liberality toward the clergy, his zeal for founding churches and for the spreading of religion, caused him to be canonized in the hearts of his subjects, and under the title of St. David has he come down to us in history.

Comparatively few of the church edifices of St. David's building escaped the ravages of the wars with England under the Edwards, so that we are obliged to judge of the style of architecture during his reign from fragments incorporated with buildings of later date. But a single edifice preserves anything approaching a complete structure—the abbey of Kelso. Here the style of Romanesque is so unique, so unlike anything of its kind across the border or on the Continent, that we are almost ready to place the style of David's reign apart, as a school of Romanesque by itself. The same general features are perceived in the earliest surviving portions of the abbeys of Holyrood, Dryburgh, Kinloss, and

Dundrennan. They consist in an unusual degree of lightness manifested by the use of colonettes of exceeding slenderness, in the lavish use of mouldings, which depend for decorative effect upon depth of cutting rather than upon fantastic surface carvings, in which respect they are more like the true Gothic type. . . . It is this tendency toward refinement and the unmistakable advance toward transition from Romanesque to Gothic seen in David's churches that would make certain other edifices in Scotland seem to belong to an earlier period. . . . In short, these two groups of Romanesque buildings illustrate quite clearly the difference that existed between the social, and hence the artistic, condition of Scotland in the reign of Malcolm Canmore (1054-93) and in that of his youngest son David (1124-53). David had not only profited by English training at Winchester but he imported monastics from France, and these important facts must have influenced his extensive architectural exploits. . . . There is in this mediæval architecture of Scotland a certain originality that clothes it with special charm. . . . It did not depend absolutely upon either of these sources for general methods of design or treatment of detail, but, borrowing generously from both, evolved new motives.¹

David found Scotland built of wattles and left her framed in granite, castles and monasteries studding the land in every direction.²

The monasteries of Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, and Holyrood, with many another stately pile, also owed their first foundations to the fostering care of David; for, independently of his religious zeal, he appreciated the encouragement afforded by such establishments to the pacific arts it was his aim to introduce amongst his subjects.³

There is probably no other country district, equally small in area, that can boast a group of ruins, at once so great and interesting, as those situated in the north of Roxburghshire, along the banks of the Tweed and its little tributary the Jed. Here were founded almost contemporaneously, in the first half of the twelfth century, four great abbeys.⁴

In Lothian the religious houses of Holyrood, the Isle of May, Newbottle, Kelso, Berwick; in Scotland proper, north of the Forth or Scottish sea, St. Andrews, Cambuskenneth, Stirling; in Moray, Urquhart and Kinloss; and in Scottish Cumbria, Selkirk, Jedburgh, and Glasgow, have been certainly traced to David.⁵

¹ Butler, *Scotland's Ruined Abbeys*, pp. 1ff.

² Robertson 1. 319.

³ *Ibid.* 1. 231.

⁴ Butler, p. 71.

⁵ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 14. 119; cf. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* 2. 15, 25, 27, 28, 33; Chalmers, *Caledonia* (1807) 1. 678, note (x); Raine, *Priory of*

III. THE CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC ANTECEDENTS DEMANDED BY THE PRODUCTION

Before entering upon the consideration of the artistic influences which may have been operative in the production of our crosses, we may first pause to reflect upon the new spirit which in the 12th century was actuating the leaders in Church and State, and which in art was the herald of Gothic architecture. This was chiefly religious, and largely monastic, but it was powerful in all the chief departments of human endeavor.

As the eleventh century closed and the great twelfth century dawned, the forces of mediæval growth quickened to a mightier vitality, and distinctively mediæval creations appeared. . . . It was no sudden birth of power, but rather faculties ripening through apprentice centuries, which illumined the period opening about the year 1100. This period would carry no human teaching if its accomplishment in institutions, in philosophy, in art and poetry, had been a heaven-blown accident, and not the fruit of antecedent discipline.¹

Au XII^e siècle, époque incomparable, tout naît, tout resplendit à la fois dans le monde moderne. Chevalerie, croisades, architecture, langue, littérature, tout jaillit ensemble comme par la même explosion ;

Hexham 1. 169; *Cram, Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain*, pp. 132-3; *Keith-Spottiswoode, Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, 1824; *Brown*, p. 110, above; *Fordun, Scotichronicon* 2. 230, 426. The list varies somewhat in the different authorities, but there is agreement respecting the chief monasteries. The dates of some of these, including such as were founded under David's influence, rather than directly by him, may be interesting.

- 1113. Selkirk; Benedictine; from Tiron.
- 1115. Jedburgh; Austin canons; from Beauvais.
- 1128. Kelso (translation from Selkirk).
- 1128. Holyrood; Austin canons.
- 1136. Melrose (refounded); Cistercian; from Rievaulx.
- 1140. Newbattle; Cistercian; from Melrose.
- 1140. Kilwinning; Benedictine; from Tiron.
- 1142. Dundrennan; Cistercian; from Rievaulx.
- 1144. Lismahago; Benedictine; from Kelso.
- 1150. Dryburgh; Premonstratensian.
- 1150. Holmcultram; Cistercian; from Melrose.
- 1150. Kinloss; Cistercian; from Melrose.

¹ Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind* 2. 205-6.

c'est là que débute véritablement l'histoire de nos arts, de notre littérature, de notre civilisation, comme celle des autres arts et des autres civilisations de l'Europe.¹

Classical studies reached their zenith in the twelfth century. For in every way this century surpassed its predecessors; and in classical studies it excelled the thirteenth, which devoted to them a smaller portion of its intellectual energies.²

But at the close of the latter reign [Henry I's] and throughout that of Stephen, the people . . . was stirred by the first of those great religious movements which England was to experience afterwards in the preaching of the Friars, the Lollardism of Wyclif, the Reformation, the Puritan enthusiasm, and the mission work of the Wesleys. Everywhere in town and country men banded themselves together for prayer, hermits flocked to the woods, noble and churl welcomed the austere Cistercians, a reformed outshoot of the Benedictine order, as they spread over the moors and forests of the North. A new spirit of devotion woke the slumber of the religious houses.³

The religious movement of which Henry had once seemed destined to become a leader had gone sweeping on till it left him far behind. It was the one element of national life whose growth, instead of being checked, seems to have been actually fostered by the anarchy. The only bright pages in the story of those 'nineteen winters' are the pages in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* which tell of the progress and the work of the new religious orders, and shew us how, while knights and barons, king and Empress, were turning the fairest regions of England into a wilderness, Templars and Hospitaliers were setting up their priories, Austin canons were directing schools and serving hospitals, and the sons of S. Bernard were making the very desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose. The vigor of the movement shewed itself in the diversity of forms which it assumed. Most of them were offshoots of the Order of S. Augustine. The Augustinian schools were the best in England; the 'Black Canons' excelled as teachers; they excelled yet more as nurses and guardians of the poor. One of the most attractive features of the time is the great number of hospices, hospitals, or almshouses as we should call them now, established for the reception and maintenance of the aged, the needy and the infirm.⁴ . . . 'In the short while that Stephen reigned, or rather bore the title of king, there arose in England many more dwellings of the servants and handmaids of God than had arisen there in the course of the whole previous cen-

¹ Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 203.

² Taylor 2. 117.

³ Green, *Short Hist.*, Chap. 2, sec. 6.

⁴ Cf. p. 99, note.

ture' [William of Newburgh]. . . . Buried in their lonely wildernesses, the Cistercians seem at first glance to have been intent only on saving their own souls, taking no part in the regeneration of society at large. While the other orders were . . . the working, fighting rank and file of the spiritual army, the White Monks were at once its sentinels, its guides, and its commanding officers; they kept watch and ward over its organization and its safety, they pointed the way wherein it should go, they directed its energies and inspired its action. For the never-ending crusade of the Church against the world had at this time found its leader in a simple Cistercian monk, who never was Pope, nor legate, nor archbishop, nor even official head of his own order—who was simply abbot of Clairvaux—yet who, by the irresistible, unconscious influence of a pure mind and a single aim, had brought all Christendom to his feet. It was to the 'Bright Valley,' to Clairvaux, that men looked from the most distant lands for light amid the darkness.¹

Thurstan² is especially to be commemorated as the reviver of monasticism in the North. His intercourse with the ecclesiastics of other countries; the religious houses which he would see during his exile, exhibiting, as far as human agency could effect it, the perfection of discipline and organization, would open his eyes to the wants of his diocese at home, and make him eager to meet and remedy them. The example and the exhortations of St. Bernard, with whom he was acquainted, would strengthen and nerve his hand. The letter which he wrote about the poor Cistercians of Fountains shews that he was thoroughly saturated with the monastic principle. His knowledge of it was of a kind that long study and practice could alone impart, and it seems to me that Thurstan, together with St. Bernard and two or three others, are to be regarded as the great church reformers of the twelfth century. It was at Thurstan's suggestion that pope Honorius confirmed the privileges of the monastery at Savigny, and he witnessed the grant of a hundred marks of silver which was made by Henry I. to the monks of Clugny, to which order the archbishop was especially attached. When Thurstan arrived in the North he would find there a very small number of religious houses, one or two of which were occupied by Augustine canons, and the rest by Benedictines. A new impetus was now given to the diffusion of the monastic principle. The two existing orders were reformed and enlarged, and the Cluniacs and Cistercians,³ monks of a stricter rule, were brought in. The time for their introduction and for the revival of discipline was well chosen. The Norman and the Saxon elements in the English Church were now happily blended together. Everything in religious as well as civil affairs was now settled and laid down. The great baronies and fees throughout the country were for the most part

¹ Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings* 1. 356-8.

² On Thurstan and Hexham, see Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. lxxv.

³ See pp. 132 ff.

marked out. Peace and rest superinduced other and better thoughts. Many of the great knights and nobles had grievous offences to atone for. They were living upon the possessions of others—very frequently upon church property; and their lives had been stained with violence and bloodshed. The wish to make amends as well as to honour God, led them to establish monasteries where their souls might be prayed for, and to which their names, '*in perpetuam rei memoriam*,' might be honourably attached. When one leads, another soon will follow, and the erection and endowment of religious houses soon became the fashion, but like every freak and sudden feeling, it was only temporary. It began with the twelfth century, and it did not outlive it. . . . Between the years 1120 and 1125 six houses of Augustine canons seem to have been established in Yorkshire.¹

L'ère des iconoclastes avait, pendant longtemps, anéanti les études iconographiques; elles commencèrent à renaître au XI^e siècle, mais ce ne fut qu'au XII^e qu'elles firent de grands progrès. . . . Jusqu'à la fin du XI^e siècle, on avait rendu la figure humaine de la manière la plus bizarre et la plus incorrecte. Mais au XII^e siècle on vit paraître des statues et des bas-reliefs, qui, sans être exempts de défauts, étaient, au moins, ramenés à une certaine correction. Cette renaissance de la statuaire contribua puissamment à changer l'aspect des monuments religieux en apportant un élément nouveau dans leur décoration. . . . On commença au XII^e siècle à sculpter des figures de grande proportion. . . . La plupart sont vêtues de longues tuniques recouvertes d'une espèce de manteau qui s'ouvre par devant.²

Le Nord, avant le milieu du XII^e siècle, ne produit qu'une ornementation pauvre, barbare, dans quelque acception qu'on prenne le mot.³

Au douzième siècle, après de longs tâtonnements, et des essais laborieux et informes, la sculpture monumentale était née. Silencieuse pendant plusieurs siècles, les pierres étaient devenues éloquentes.⁴

If we are to be warranted in referring the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses to 1150, or thereabouts, and to the influence of David I of Scotland, we must examine what detailed considerations appear to favor, and what to oppose, this assumption, so far as the artistic side is concerned. We need to account for the conception of an upright rectangle or trapezoid—for, it will be observed, we have no *proof* that either of these obelisks was ever a cross, that is, that

¹ Raine, *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, pp. 201-2.

² Caumont, p. 160.

³ Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 201.

⁴ Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1^a. 944.

either ever had a cross-piece¹—divided into panels that are filled with figure-sculpture, and enclosed in frames bearing legends descriptive of the figure-sculpture. We next have to account for a similar rectangle or trapezoid bearing a vine, with or without inter-

¹ The top of the Bewcastle Cross—if such it really was—formerly in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton, could not have been a cross-piece. What we are told is (letter from Cotton to Camden before 1623, when Camden died): ‘I receaved this morning a ston from my lord of Arundell sent him from my lord William [Howard]. It was the head of a Cross at Bewcastell. All the letters legable are thes in on[e] line,’ etc. (James Wilson, in *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, N. S. 10. 504; cf. Vietor, *Die North. Runensteine*, p. 15; Ole Worm, *Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex*, Copenhagen, 1643, p. 161; Kemble, in *Archæologia* 28. 346-7; Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough, p. 455). Besides, MSS. Cotton Domitian A. xviii. 37, and Julius F. vi. 313, after giving the runic inscription, RIKÆS DRUHTNÆS (Cotton’s letter and Worm read Y for U), add: ‘This Inscription was on the head of a Cross found at Beucastell in 1615. The length of the stone, bein the head of the Crosse—16 inches. The breadth at the upper end—12 ynches. The thicknes—4 inches’ (Wilson, p. 503). As the Bewcastle Cross is 13 by 14 inches at the top (Collingwood, in *Victoria Hist. Cumb.*, 1. 255; *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 43), it is evident that, if this block belonged to our cross, it could not have been the cross-piece. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of it as a part of the cross at all, since its length, 16 inches, would ill have fitted the longer face of the cross at top—14 inches; its breadth, 12 inches, would have been too short for the breadth of the cross—13 inches; and its thickness, 4 inches, would have been unimpressive on the top of a cross 14½ feet high, being an addition of scarcely more than 2 per cent to its height (Collingwood, in *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 255, must therefore be in error when he says: ‘With it the cross would have been about 21 feet high from the base of the pedestal,’ since the pedestal cannot be as much as two feet in height; see the photographs). In one direction it would have overlapped the existing cross an inch on each side; and in the other it would have fallen short by half an inch on each side. If we suppose an intervening cross-piece, we are no better off: what figure would be cut by a stone 4 inches high, over a cross-piece duly proportioned to a monolith 14½ feet high? And if, in order to gain a height of 16 inches for it, we suppose it stood upon its smallest face, how would a thickness of 4 inches look in the top-piece, as contrasted with that of 13 or 14 inches in the main shaft?

If we were to think of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses as obelisks, rather than crosses—and so various early writers on the monoliths of the North term the monuments they describe—we should be interested to consider whether any Egyptian obelisk could have been known to North Europeans of the Middle Ages. Now, whatever obelisks may have been overthrown or buried at Rome in that period, we are certain at least that

scattered animals and birds. We need to find precedents for the subjects of the figure-sculpture in this period, and, if possible, for the peculiar modes of treatment ; and to show that these subjects were not handled in sculpture, or not handled in this way, at an earlier period. We must find precedents for the use of the sundial, of chequers, and of knotwork, in stone. We must account for the use, at this period, of any peculiar forms of letters in the Latin inscriptions. Finally, we must account for the employment of runic characters on stone monuments, and, in particular, of stone monuments devoted to Christian uses.

Having considered the precedents or parallels for the various features of the carving, we must then see by what artists such carving might be designed and executed, from what countries, districts, and, if possible, schools, such artists may be conceived as proceeding ; whether they would be likely to come to so remote and barbarous a region ; and by what inducements, if any, they may have been determined to sojourn there and accomplish these works. Among such inducements might be reckoned the existence, not far away, of works of art of a similar character, due to similar influences, and produced by workmen of similar antecedents ; the hospitality and liberality of their patron or patrons ; and the assurance that their labors would be appreciated by competent, or at least well-disposed, observers.

Beginning, then, with such faces of obelisks as are divided into panels filled with figure-sculpture, it is easy to see that these, like

every pilgrim to St. Peter's, from before the days of King Alfred, must have seen that which still adorns the Piazza between the colonnades of Bernini. This, according to Gregorovius, is ' the only obelisk in Rome which has not at some time or other been leveled with the ground ' (*Rome in the Middle Ages* 1. 53 ; 3. 27 ; cf. 6. 722, note 3 ; 7. 240, note 2). Every such pilgrim from the North would of course have been impressed by an object so strange, and by figures so enigmatic. Alexander Gordon (*Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726, p. 160) says of the Ruthwell Cross that it ' is, in Form, like the *Ægyptian* Obelisks at Rome ' ; and Bishop Nicolson, in his *Scots Historical Library* (1702), p. 64, says of the monuments of northeastern Scotland : ' *Hector Boetius* [d. 1536], in one of his particular Fancies, thinks them relicks of the *Ægyptian* Fashions.'

It is indeed strange, on the supposition that the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses both had cross-pieces, that no fragment of either has been preserved, and that the stone sent from Bewcastle to London could not possibly have been the cross-piece, nor, so far as can be seen, a head-piece above it. It is well known that the cross-piece now to be seen at Ruthwell is modern, and of no authority whatever, while the top-stone seems authentic.

the chequers and vines, and even the sunoial, can be most readily derived from the ornamental features of churches. And the suggestion for such a face of an obelisk would most naturally come from the carved door-post of a church-portal.¹ Such a one we find at the abbey-church of Nonantola, a few miles northeast of Modena, the most important Benedictine abbey in Italy next to that of Monte Cassino, at one period a centre of mediæval learning, and no doubt in constant communication with so important a Transalpine monastery as that of St. Benedict at Fleury (St. Benoît-sur-Loire), whose connections with England we shall see. Here, at Nonantola, the door-jamb on the right side bears a striking general resemblance to two faces of the Ruthwell Cross, in so far as it contains, in a series of panels,² representations of Scriptural figures or groups, with Latin legends explaining them. These panels differ in height, as do those on the Ruthwell Cross, and are ten in number. Beginning at the top, they represent: (1) The child in the manger, with the ox and ass; (2) the washing of the child, from the Apocryphal Gospels; (3) the Visitation; (4) the Annunciation; (5) a person whose significance is doubtful (Zacharias?); (6) Joseph warned by an angel; (7) the Purification; (8) the Adoration of the Magi; (9) the Announcement to the Shepherds; (10) the flock of sheep belonging to the latter. Not only do the inscriptions occupy the intermediate spaces between the panels, as they do at Bewcastle,³ and in part at Ruthwell,⁴ but the O of the inscriptions is lozenge-shaped,⁵ as sometimes in those at Ruthwell. The approximate date of the Nonantola carvings, which were executed by Willigelmus, is 1117.⁶

For the vine we need only refer to pages 71–83, where it has been shown that there is abundant precedent for its use, the instances of its occurrence increasing especially in the 12th century. For the Biblical subjects occurring on our two crosses, we may refer to pages 46–58; for the legend of Paul and Anthony, to pages 58, 59; for the *genre*-subjects of the Bewcastle Cross, to pages 60–71. For *genre*-subjects in general as treated in the 12th century, it is important to consider such bas-reliefs as those of the cathedral of Piacenza, sculptured at the instance of various trades of the city, and dating

¹ On door-jambs bearing statues, see Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 295.

² Cf. the door-jamb of the baptistery at Parma (Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 305).

³ See pp. 25, 26, 28.

⁴ See pp. 16 ff.

⁵ See p. 44.

⁶ Cesari, *Nonantola* (Modena, 1901), pp. 60–61, and frontispiece; Venturi, 3. 172; see also pp. 50, 81, above.

from about 1122. Two of these,¹ by a master standing in close relation to Wiligelmus, represent respectively two shoemakers at work and a knife-grinder.² The inscription on the border of the first shows the lozenge-shaped O with which we are familiar on the Ruthwell Cross.³

On the sundial, see pages 89, 90; on the chequers, pages 83–86; on the knotwork, pages 86–89.

On the peculiar form of the Latin O, see pages 44, 45.

For the use of runic characters on stone monuments in the British Isles, see particularly pages 32 ff., 38 ff.

The question as to what artists may have been available for such sculpture as that of our crosses can best be approached by considering what foreign schools of art were, or had been, represented in Scotland (and incidentally in England) in the generation or so preceding 1150. We may conveniently begin with one of the most important influences, that of Tiron (properly Thiron), near Chartres.

1. THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF TIRON

The abbey of Kelso was first established at Selkirk in 1113 by monks from Tiron, and was transferred to Kelso in 1128. Kelso, in turn, founded Lismahago (1144); and various other monasteries, among them Kilwinning (1140),⁴ show the influence of Tiron.

Anno MCXIII. monachi Tironenses in Angliam venerunt, X. annos antequam Savinienses venerunt in Angliam. Monachi Tironenses in terra David regis Scotiæ apud Seleschirche [Selkirk] venerunt, et ibi per annos XV. manserunt.⁵

Anno MCXXVIII. mutata est abbatia de Selechirche ad Kelchou [Kelso] juxta Rochestura, et fundata est ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ prædictis monachis Tironensibus, ubi eam pius rex David magnis muneribus ditavit, multis ornamentis ornavit, prædiis et possessionibus amplius nobiliter dotavit.⁶

The monks of Tiron were notable in that age for the variety of handicrafts—including architecture and sculpture—which they represented.

¹ Venturi 3. 176–7.

² Cf. p. 145.

³ Cf. pp. 45, 124.

⁴ Lawrie (*Early Scottish Charters*, p. 269) says that monks from Tiron were brought to both Lismahago and Kilwinning.

⁵ Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum* (Rolls Series) 2. 247.

⁶ *Ibid.* 2. 281.

About this time Bernard, abbot of Quincé [Quinçay]¹ retired from Poitiers, because he had refused to subject his monastery, which had been independent to that time, to the abbey of Cluni. . . . At last, after much journeying, he visited the venerable bishop Ives,² who graciously received him, and settled him and his monks on the territory of the church of Chartres,³ where he built a monastery dedicated to St. Saviour⁴ in a woody district called Tiron. A multitude of the faithful of both orders flocked to him, and father Bernard received in his loving embraces all who were ready to make their profession, enjoining them to practise in his new monastery the occupations which each of them had learnt. In consequence there readily assembled about him workmen, both smiths and carpenters, sculptors and goldsmiths, painters and masons, vine-dressers and ploughmen, with skilled artificers in various branches of labor. They diligently employed themselves in the tasks assigned them by the abbot, and turned their gains to the common advantage. Thus where lately robbers sheltered themselves in a frightful forest, and cut the throats of unwary travelers, on whom they rushed unawares, a stately abbey was, by God's help, quickly reared.⁵

The craftsmen from Tiron displayed their skill in the building of Kelso Abbey, begun in 1128,⁶ four years after David's accession.

¹ Bernard was Abbot of St. Cyprian at Poitiers in 1100 and for at least four or five years thereafter. He was born near Abbeville about 1046, and died in April, 1116 (so the *Necrology of Chartres*, p. 161, published by the Soc. Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, *Un Manuscrit Chartrain du XI^e Siècle*, Chartres, 1893; but Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie*, says 1117). Beatrix, mother of Rotrou, Count of La Perche, gave him lands in the forest of Tiron in 1107, and the monastery was ready to be inhabited by 1109. On account of claims made by the Cluniac monks of Nogent, he obtained a small estate from the Bishop and canons of Chartres (*Hist. Litt. de la France* 10. 213 ff.). The 12th century life of him is published by the Bollandists under April 25, and is also to be found in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 172. 1367-1446.

² Ivo of Chartres (ca. 1040-1116), a warm friend of Bernard's, had been the first prior of the abbey of St. Quentin at Beauvais (see p. 131, below).

³ The deed bears date of Feb. 3, 1113. Bernard had asked for a carucate (*carrucatum*) of land from the territory belonging to the cathedral of Chartres *que est super rivulum qui dicitur Tiro, infra Gardiensem parrochiam, ad edificandum monasterium et claustrum* (*Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Chartres* 1. 117-8: Soc. Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, Chartres, 1865).

Thiron (such is the modern name) is about eleven miles northeast of Chartres, in the arrondissement of Nogent-le-Rotrou. Gardais is a hamlet belonging to the commune of Thiron. The abbey of Thiron was Benedictine.

⁴ Chevalier (*Topo-Bibliographie*) says the Holy Trinity.

⁵ Ordericus Vitalis, Bk. 8, chap. 27 (Bohn 3. 50-51).

⁶ He had, partly at the instance of Bishop John of Glasgow (Ridpath, *Border History of England and Scotland*, p. 76), himself a monk from Tiron, removed them to Roxburgh soon after his accession in 1124.

and resorted to by him for the interment of his son Henry, at the very close of his own reign, twenty-five years later. We may still see portions of their work in the north transept of the church.

It is to these skilful monks that we owe the masterful work upon the north transept with its exquisite portal, the delicate mouldings of the arcades which make them seem too fine for Norman work, and the skilful adjustment of the tower to its supports.¹

Tiron must have been much in David's thoughts for another reason. About 1117 he made his tutor, John,² who had been a monk of Tiron, Bishop of Glasgow, and he continued in this office, though with long absences from his see, until 1147, when he died and was buried at Jedburgh. Other proofs of David's attachment to Tiron are to be found in his exemption, about 1141, at the instance of Bishop John, of a ship belonging to this monastery from the *cain*, or customary tax,³ an exemption which was confirmed by his son Henry.⁴ Geoffrey, the biographer of Bernard, not only reports the foundation of Kelso, but also tells of a later visit of David to Tiron after

¹ Butler, *Scotland's Ruined Abbeys*, p. 97 ; cf. Cram, *The Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain*, pp. 149, 145. There is a kind of chequer-work (Butler, pp. 94-5) on the gable (somewhat resembling that on the gable of the 12th century church of St. Stephen's at Beauvais) which might have suggested that on the Bewcastle Cross. Kelso is only 37 miles from Bewcastle in a straight line.

² Cf. p. 126, note 6. The chief events of his life may be summarized as follows : David's inquisition, 1120 or 1121 ; John is early alarmed by the savagery of his diocese ; suspended by Archbishop Thurstan of York in 1122, and makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but in 1123 is ordered by Pope Calixtus II to return ; goes to Rome, 1125 ; returns, 1126 ; is made chancellor by David, 1129 ; see of Carlisle created at the expense of the see of Glasgow, 1133 ; retires to Tiron, 1133-1138 ; obtains numerous gifts from David for the cathedral of Glasgow, which is consecrated in 1136, John being absent ; is ordered to return by the papal legate Alberic, who had settled Aldulf or Adelulf, formerly Prior of Nostell Abbey, as bishop at Carlisle (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* ; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* 2. 13-31). On Adelulf (d. 1156) see Raine, *Archbishops of York* 1. 202-3 ; *Priory of Hexham* 1. 110 ; Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, p. 61 ; Lawrie, pp. 267-270 ; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* 2. 27 ; Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.* 6. 89 ff. ; Freeman, *Norm. Cong.* 5. 230.

³ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron* 1. 80 ; Lawrie, p. 103.

⁴ *Cartulaire* 2. 14 ; Lawrie, p. 104.

Bernard's death, when he gave larger possessions to the monastery which he had founded, and took to Scotland with him an abbot and twelve monks more.¹

2. THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF CHARTRES

Bulteau is persuaded that the monks of Tiron had a share in the construction of the west porch of the cathedral of Chartres.

Tout ce que nous savons, c'est que le pays chartrain était au XII^e siècle un foyer d'art fort actif, possédant une école d'architectes habiles qui nous ont laissé d'admirables constructions d'une solidité à toute épreuve, architectes qui étaient pour la plupart des moines formés dans les abbayes de Tiron et de Saint-Père.²

Il a été commencé vers 1110, sous l'épiscopat de Saint Ives, et terminé sous celui de son successeur immédiat, le pieux Geoffroy de Lèves. Il a été probablement sculpté par les moines de l'abbaye de Tiron.³

Par reconnaissance envers Saint Ives et le chapitre de Notre-Dame, il leur aura fait sculpter les statues et les chapiteaux historiés qui ornent les trois baies. Le travail est si délicat, si fini que l'ardente piété des moines-artistes a pu seule l'exécuter. C'est, sans doute, pour faciliter ce travail de sculpture que les moines de Tiron établirent, en 1117, une succursale à Chartres, dans une maison située près du Marché, *juxta forum*. Ces moines-artistes venaient, pour la plupart, du midi de la France, où les monuments romains abondent ; de là, sans doute, les réminiscences antiques qu'on remarque dans plusieurs parties du portail occidental.⁴

The interest of the royal family of England in the building of the cathedral of Chartres is testified in various ways. In the year of Henry I's marriage to Matilda, David's sister, Bishop Ivo of Chartres appealed to him for gifts for the cathedral, and the very next year to Matilda herself. A second application to Henry, probably in 1101, elicited a reply through Queen Matilda, who made a gift of bells, and promised money for the repair of the roof, for which Ivo thanks her.⁵ This may well have been while David was with his

¹ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 172. 1426.

² *Monographie* 1. 112 ; cf. Huysmans' *La Cathédrale* (Paris, 1898), p. 256.

³ Bulteau 2. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1. 81 ; elsewhere (2. 34) he thinks the Tironian sculptors had practised their art on the porch of St. Sernin at Toulouse ; but cf. Merlet, *La Cath. de Chartres*, pp. 26-28.

⁵ Bulteau 1. 68-71 ; cf. p. 106, above, note 4.

sister at the English court. King Henry's sister, Adela, Countess of Blois and of Chartres, made gifts to the cathedral about this time, and was generous to it on various occasions.¹ Already in the episcopate of Fulbert (1008–1028), who conducted a famous school at Chartres,² Canute 'greatly helped the building of the cathedral of Chartres.'³ William the Conqueror gave a bell to Chartres which was called by his name,⁴ so that England had for a long series of years been interested in the cathedral and its bishops.

Under these circumstances, it would not be surprising if Chartres had exerted an influence upon the sculpture of our crosses, an influence which is perhaps best suggested by the group of the Visitation⁵ in the right tympanum of the west front, by the Flight into Egypt of a storied capital,⁶ and by vines between the

¹ Bulteau 1. 73, note 2. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (1. 135) says: 'It was through her energy and beneficence that the cathedral of Chartres was rebuilt in stone, and freed from all taxation.'

² Taylor, *The Medieval Mind* 1. 296 ff.; Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres au Moyen-Age*, pp. 31 ff., 194 ff.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 9. 4.

⁴ Bulteau 1. 71.

⁵ See above, p. 48.

⁶ See above, p. 52. Enlart (Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* [2. 205; cf. 1^a. 517–8]) compares the west front of Rochester Cathedral with that of Chartres. He speaks of the statues of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba at Rochester, and declares that, while smaller than those of Chartres, they are absolutely of the same style. These he would date after the portal, and the portal itself about 1160. Keyser (*List of Norman Tympana*, p. XVII) is of a similar opinion: 'The series of figures on the arch mouldings, the statues between the jamb shafts, and the treatment of the subject of "The Majesty" on the tympanum,' all show the influence of 'Bourges, Chartres, Le Mans, and other doorways of the great Romanesque churches in France.' Enlart (2. 204; cf. 1^a. 518) also finds an analogy between the human figures, mingled with vine-scrolls and dragons, on the door-jambs of the south portal and on the triumphal arch at Kil(l)peck, near Hereford, and the style of the west doorway of Chartres. The west front of Chartres is also compared with some rich Norman work on the ruined church of Shobdon (also in Herefordshire) by Parker (*Introd. to Goth. Arch.*, p. 78; cf. Michel 2. 205). The vine-scroll with figurines on a shaft of the west front of Chartres is brought by Marriage (*Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 44; see p. 80, above) into relation with similar work on the west door of Lincoln Cathedral (cf. Viollet-le-Duc 8. 108, 210). The tympanum of Malmesbury is perhaps inspired by sculpture at the abbey of Moissac (cf. Anglès, *L'Abbaye de Moissac*), according to Enlart (Michel 2. 205), who finds the same style in sculpture at Bristol, York, and

statues.¹ Such a theory is rendered plausible by a consideration of the number of Englishmen who visited Chartres for longer or shorter periods at about this time. Among English scholars and ecclesiastics who in the 11th century had relations with Chartres must be reckoned Anselm, the fellow-student and devoted friend of Ivo. Anselm, when Archbishop of Canterbury, spent months at Chartres in 1103, and again weeks in the summer of 1105,² not to speak of an earlier visit in 1097.³ John of Salisbury, who became Bishop of Chartres in 1176, studied there as a young man from 1138–1140 or 1141. As he was for a long time secretary to Thomas à Becket, was for thirty years the central figure of English learning,⁴ was the first classicist of the Middle Ages,⁵ and was long influential in English political affairs, it is easy to see how he would extend the knowledge of Chartres in England. Countess Adela, being the sister of Henry I and the mother of the future King Stephen, and herself a woman of vigorous understanding and manifold activities, would naturally attract English attention to Chartres in the early years of the 12th century.⁶ Then we have the testimony of Ivo to the presence of a colony of English students there in the year 1112. Writing in that

Lincoln (see also the references to York, Lincoln, and Chichester in 1^a. 518). At Barfreston, in Kent, Enlart (1^a. 517) finds sculpture which reminds him of St. Denis. For particular subjects of French figure-sculpture, see pp. 46 ff. French influence on English architecture as early as the 10th century is suspected by Rivoira and Enlart. Thus Rivoira (*Lomb. Arch.* 2. 158) says of the abbey church of Ramsey, founded in 969 and consecrated in 974: 'Oswald himself was the architect of the building, the idea of which he may have derived from the church of Germigny des Prés, situated only a few miles from the convent of Fleury at Saint Benoît-sur-Loire, with which Ramsey Abbey was closely connected for several centuries.' And thus Enlart expresses himself (Michel 1^a. 117): 'Au IX^e siècle, la plupart des monuments de la Grande-Bretagne furent détruits de fond en comble par les incursions incessantes et dévastatrices des Danois; au siècle suivant, sous la direction de moines à la fois artistes et hommes d'état, tels que Dunstan et Ethelwold, les ruines furent réparées; et c'est à partir du X^e siècle jusqu'à la conquête normande de 1066 que se place vraisemblablement l'érection des monuments appelés saxons, œuvres d'un style roman très rude et très original, qui ont précédé en Angleterre l'architecture normande.'

¹ See above, p. 80.

² *Hist. Litt. de la France* 10. 112-3; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 2. 27.

³ M. A. E. Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England* 1. 47.

⁴ Stubbs, quoted in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 29. 444.

⁵ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 29. 439, 444; cf. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 713-7.

⁶ Cf. pp. 129, 143.

year¹ to Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, he asks him to communicate any request for his (Ivo's) services through Robert's pupils who are in residence at Chartres.² Jordan Fantosme, who was present in the North of England in 1173 and 1174, when William the Lion, David's grandson, invaded it, and who afterwards wrote a poem³ on the war, studied at Chartres with Gilbert de la Porrée some time between 1124 and 1137.⁴ Afterwards we find him (1158) a cleric, and probably chancellor, at Winchester, under the episcopate of Adela's son Henry, where he had relations with John of Salisbury.⁵ David I himself would surely have visited Chartres on the occasion of his visit to Tiron, only a few miles away.⁶

3 THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF BEAUVAIS

Jedburgh was founded in 1115 by monks from Beauvais. This connects Jedburgh indirectly with Chartres, since we have seen (p. 126) that the abbey at Beauvais was founded by Ivo of Chartres,⁷ the friend of Bernard of Tiron, and the correspondent

¹ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 162. 279.

² Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres*, p. 180.

³ *Chronique*, Surtees Society, 1840; cf. Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria, Anglo-Norman Period*, pp. 221-3, and p. 98, above.

⁴ Clerval, pp. 164, 186.

⁵ Clerval, p. 186.

⁶ See p. 127, above.

⁷ Ivo suggests another possible influence—that of the Austin Canons, though we can not establish a direct relation between this order and notable Northern architecture of so early a period. The Austin or Regular Canons had existed for centuries under somewhat varying rules, when Ivo wrote one of greater strictness, and thus gave a new impulse to the foundation of houses of the order (Tucker and Malleson, *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome* 3. 205). Nostell, from the priorate of which Adelulf went to the bishopric of Carlisle (see p. 127), was founded before 1121, for in that year Henry I confirmed its lands and privileges (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* 6. 89-90). Hexham (see p. 101), soon after 1114, became an Augustinian priory (Raine, *Priory of Hexham* l. cix ff., lxvi ff.). Another early foundation was that of Scone (about 1215), a prior of which became Bishop of St. Andrews in 1124, or earlier. There were six houses of Austin Canons established in Yorkshire between 1120 and 1125, of which Gisburgh (see p. 136) was one. Lanercost Abbey (p. 98), only a few miles from Bewcastle, was founded as late as 1169, while the priory of Carlisle is attributed to 1133. By 1250 they had two hundred houses in England; cf. pp. 119-120. The Austin *Friars* were reputed to have been founded by Paul, the first hermit (*Piers Plowman* B. 15. 284; *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede* 308-9. Cf. pp. 58-59.

of Henry I and Matilda, David's sister. The art of the French sculptors (probably between 1128 and 1152) has been characterized by Butler.

The entire edifice as we have it, unique as a specimen of a style, the persistent use of Romanesque forms throughout, with a highly refined treatment of details, the frank employment of the pointed arch in the supports of the tower, all foreshadow the transition, and would seem to indicate that the style of David's reign was not like the barbaric Norman of the last twenty-five years of the eleventh century, nor yet the still heavy style of the first quarter of the twelfth, but a lighter and more elegant system of construction and a more graceful theory of design that distinguishes it from earlier phases of northern Romanesque.¹

The abaci of the capitals of the clustered columns and colonettes are rectangular, and the carving of the capitals themselves, the bases, the profiles of all the mouldings, are far more suggestive of the French style of the transition than of insular work. These capitals with their abaci are strangely reminiscent of the late Norman details of the cathedral of Bayeux. The design of their conventionalized foliage even in direct comparison is strikingly like that of the transitional churches of Laon and Beauvais. Is it not this last name that gives the clew to the appearance of detail here in Jedburgh, totally unlike anything of its kind in Great Britain? Is it not the work of the monks from the great Benedictine convent at Beauvais that we see in these elegantly carved capitals and mouldings?²

The present Cathedral of Beauvais dates from a later period, but the church of St. Stephen is of the 12th century, and, as we have seen above (p. 127, note 1), may have furnished a suggestion for the gable of Kelso. Other early churches in the region about Beauvais might also be considered.

4. THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF CLAIRVAUX

About the year 1128,³ Bernard addressed to Henry I a remarkable letter, entrusting it to a deputation of monks which he sent as a colony to England.

To the illustrious Henry, King of England, Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, that he may faithfully serve and humbly obey the King of Heaven in his earthly kingdom.

¹ Butler, *Scotland's Ruined Abbeys*, pp. 96-7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82. For the vine-scroll, see above, p. 80, and Butler, p. 84.

³ Raine, *Archbishops of York* 1. 203.

There is in your land a property belonging to your Lord and mine, for which He preferred to die rather than it should be lost. This I have formed a plan for recovering, and am sending a party of my brave followers to seek, recover, and hold it with strong hand, if this does not displease you. And these scouts whom you see before you I have sent beforehand on this business to investigate wisely the state of things, and bring me faithful word again. Be so kind as to assist them as messengers of your Lord, and in their persons fulfil your feudal duty to Him. I pray Him to render you, in return, happy and illustrious, to His honor, and to the salvation of your soul, to the safety and peace of your country, and to continue to you happiness and contentment to the end of your days.¹

In 1131 these monks were settled at Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, by Walter Espec. Monks from Rievaulx, in turn, founded, or rather refounded, Melrose in 1136. Melrose founded Newbattle in 1140, and Holmcultram and Kinloss in 1150. From Rievaulx directly came not only Melrose, but Dundrennan (1142); while the church of Ruthwell seems to have been named from the same Yorkshire abbey, as that, in turn, modeled its name upon Clairvaux. The influence of Rievaulx in southwestern Scotland appears in the journey of Ailred of Rievaulx into Galloway (1164), at that time a savage region.²

Melrose itself is clearly a building wrought under French influence.

The exterior of Melrose is in some respects more French in appearance than any ecclesiastical edifice in Scotland. The prominent buttresses are provided with canopied niches, some of which retain their sculpture; slender pier buttresses rising through the aisle roof to support sets of two flying buttresses are also adorned with niches and terminate in richly decorated Gothic pinnacles. The deep mouldings, the wealth of grotesque gargoyles and other figures, make it seem so like early French Gothic work that we may assume a French architect, or at least a student of French architecture, designed portions of the abbey, and that some of the builders, those Cistercian monks, had come from France. The sculpture within and without is rich and plentiful for a northern clime. The interior abounds in beautiful capitals and mouldings carved in most delicate foliate designs. The variety is remarkable, almost all of the native leaves being wrought in the hard brown stone; the oak leaf and the thistle being prominent. Most graceful and flowing and most deeply carved is the capital of the

¹ Eales, *Some Letters of Saint Bernard*, pp. 121-3; cf. p. 120, above.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 18. 33; cf. Brown, *Hist. Scot.* 1. 1, 45; Lang, *Hist. Scot.* 1. 154.

easternmost column in the south aisle ; the design is a naturalistic treatment of the domestic Scotch kale ; so humble and so crude in nature, it becomes most rich and delicate in the sphere of art.¹

Of the abbeys proceeding from Melrose, it is only Holmcultram² that concerns us here, and that because of its proximity to Ruthwell, though on the English side of the Border. As it was not founded till 1150, it is interesting, not so much because of any influence it could have had upon our crosses, as because it shows the prevalence of the Cistercian spirit in the region to the south and westward of Ruthwell and Bewcastle, just as Melrose exhibits it to the northeast.³

A French influence directly from Rievaulx manifested itself at the founding of Dundrennan⁴ in 1142, only eleven years after Rievaulx itself was established.⁵

¹ Butler, pp. 111-2. Butler adds (p. 113) : ' The ponderous keystones of the fallen high vaults have been preserved by themselves. They represent human heads with masses of flowing hair. The boss of the great central tower represents the head of David I. ; another is that of his queen, Matilda.'

² See above, pp. 102-3.

³ The approximate distances of some of the abbeys mentioned from Ruthwell and Bewcastle respectively are as follows :

Ruthwell to Holmcultram, 12 miles ; to Dundrennan, 25 miles ; to Carlisle, 20 miles.

Bewcastle to Holmcultram, 28 miles ; to Carlisle, 16 miles ; to Wetheral (Benedictine, before 1112), 14 miles ; to Lanercost (Austin Canons, 1169), 7 miles ; to Kelso, 37 miles ; to Jedburgh, 29 miles ; to Melrose, 36 miles ; to Hexham, 24 miles ; to Ruthwell, 29 miles ; all as the bird flies.

There is an ecclesiastical map of Cumberland facing 2. 126 of the *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* ; see also that in Vietor, *Die North. Runensteine*.

⁴ See *New Statistical Account of Scotland* 4. 357-8, 362 ; Butler, p. 246 ; Keith-Spottiswoode, *Hist. Cat. of the Scottish Bishops*, p. 417. Spottiswoode mentions the following abbeys as founded by Cistercians after 1150, thus indicating the influence of that order in Scotland in the latter half of the 12th and early part of the 13th century : Saundle (before 1164), Coupar (1164), Glenluce (1190), Culross (1217), Deer (1218), Balmerinach (1229), Sweetheart or New Abbey (13th century ; founded by Devorgilla, a great-great-granddaughter of David I), ten miles from Ruthwell, across the Nith, and Machline. For New Abbey see also *New Stat. Acc.* 4. 248. Of other orders than the Cistercian there were founded in Galloway, soon after 1150, the abbeys of Soulesat, Tunland, St. Mary's Isle, and Whithorn (Keith-Spottiswoode, pp. 389, 398, 399 ; cf. *New Stat. Acc.* 4. 22, 54, 87, 88).

⁵ Sylvanus, first abbot of Dundrennan, was transferred to Rievaulx in 1167 (*New Stat. Acc.* 4. 362).

With respect to the relation between Ruthwell and Rievaulx, it is to be observed that the spelling Ruthwell is by no means the earliest known, that the local pronunciation of Ruthwell is Rivvel, and that the local pronunciation of Rievaulx is Rivers, which would earlier have been Rivel or Rivvel.

Rievaulx was named from the river Rie, and hence called by the Latin name of Rievallis. It was founded, as we have seen above, by Walter Espec, with the consent of Archbishop Thurstan of York, King Henry I, and Pope Innocent II, its first monks having come from Clairvaux (*Clara Vallis*) in 1128.¹ The *Liber de Melros*, under the year 1136, speaks of the monks *de Rievalle*²; and in the *Rievaulx Chartulary* the following spellings occur in the first half of the 13th century: Rievalle (5 times), Rivall (3 times), Ryevall (twice), Ryvall (once), Revall (once), Ryvaus (once). Ryevall also occurs in 1334, Ryvall in 1251, 1278, and 1306, Revall in 1315. Other spellings are such as these: River, Rywax, Riwxax, Rivaux, Ryvaulx, Ryvax.³

The link between Rievaulx and Ruthwell is to be found in the person of Robert de Bruce II (1078 ?–1141) a companion of David I at the court of Henry, to whom the former granted, ca. 1124, Annandale—a tract somewhat difficult to define, but certainly including Ruthwell.

None of those English settlers were more personally dear to the King, none left a name more illustrious than the Bruces. They had been settled in Yorkshire since the Conquest, and without quitting his Yorkshire baronies, Robert Bruce accepted from the king of Scots, his friend and brother in arms, the Valley of Annandale, which he soon had erected into a forest, marching with Nithsdale on the one hand, the Valley of Clyde on the other, and stretching eastward till it met the Royal Forest of Selkirk—an immense territory, even yet thinly peopled, but well suited for the great game of the forest, the deer and the wild boar, to which its new owners devoted it.⁴

He received from David I a grant of Annandale, then called Strath Annett, by a charter c. 1124. . . . It was bounded by the lands of Dunegal, of Strathnith (Nithsdale), and those of Ranulf de Meschines,

¹ John of Hexham, in Raine, *Priory of Hexham* l. 108; Ailred of Rievaulx, in Howlett, *Chronicle* (Rolls Series) 3. 183–4; *Cartularium Abbatiiæ de Rievalle*, p. 21.

² Raine, *op. cit.* l. 169, note.

³ *Cart.*, pp. civ–cvii.

⁴ *Facsimiles of Nat. Manuscripts of Scotland* l. ix; cf. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 307, and pp. 102, 103, above.

earl of Chester, in Cumberland, and embraced the largest part of the county of Dumfries. Like David, a benefactor of the church. . . . His second son, Robert de Bruce III, saved the Scotch fief of Annandale either by joining David I, if a tradition that he was taken prisoner by his father at the battle of the Standard can be relied on, or by obtaining its subsequent restoration from David or Malcolm IV. . . . He held the Annandale fief, with Lochmaben as its chief messuage, for the service of a hundred knights during the reigns of David I, Malcolm IV, and William the Lion, who confirmed it by a charter in 1166.¹

Their services were rewarded by forty-three manors in the East and West, and fifty-one in the North Riding of Yorkshire—upwards of 40,000 acres of land, which fell to the lot of Robert de Bruce I, the head of the family.²

The chief possessions of the Bruces were, as we have seen, in Yorkshire, which remained the home of Robert de Bruce II. There, in 1129, he founded the monastery of Guisburn, Guisborough, or Gisburgh, with the concurrence of Archbishop Thurstan, Henry I, and Pope Calixtus II.³ To this monastery Bruce granted the patronage of all the churches in Annandale,⁴ or at least the greater part.⁵ The rights of ordination and collation to these churches were acquired by the Bishop of Glasgow in 1223.⁶

The Bruces must have parted with lands in Annandale to various adherents in the 12th and 13th centuries. Between 1170 and 1180 William de Bruce granted lands to Adam Carlyle, a native of the soil, who held property in Cumberland.⁷ Similarly, Ruthwell must at some time have passed into the hands of Thomas de Duncurry, and afterward into those of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, who deeded it to his nephew, William Murray, before 1332.

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 7. 114.

² *Ibid.*

³ Bromton, *Chron.* (Twysden, col. 1018) ; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 7. 114.

⁴ Chalmers, *Caledonia* 5. 189 ; Johnstone, *Historical Families of Dumfriesshire*, 2d ed., Dumfries, [1889,] p. 2 ; cf. p. 103, above.

⁵ This fact suggests the close ecclesiastical connections between Yorkshire and Annandale, and makes it easy to see the possibility of a connection between Rievaulx in Yorkshire and Ruthwell in Annandale.

⁶ Chalmers 5. 148.

⁷ Johnstone, p. 26. There were Carlyles from Cockpool, according to an ancient ballad, *The Bedesman of Nithsdale*, who followed Richard I to the Crusades (Johnstone, p. 3) ; but Cockpool is later associated with Ruthwell.

William Murray, the second son,¹ got a charter from his uncle Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, granting to 'Willelmo de Moravia nepoti nostro dilecto . . . omnes terras et omnia tenementa cum pertinenciis totius medietatis tenementorum de Cumlungan et de Ryvel in Valle Anandie prout dicta tenementa cum pertinenciis inter predictum Willelmum et Patricium fratrem suum per probos homines et fidedignos sunt divisa' [Mansfield Charter-Chest; *Annandale Peerage Minutes*, 796]. The charter includes a grant of half the patronage 'of the church of the holdings named,' which, with the lands, had formerly been possessed by Thomas of Duncurry. It is undated, but must have been granted between 1317 and 1332,² when Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, died.³

By a charter of David II, dated 1363, the lands along the southern coast of Dumfriesshire which had belonged to Sir William de Carlyle, who married Margaret Bruce (sister of the great Bruce), were granted to the daughter of Sir William's son Thomas, and to her husband, Robert Corrie.⁴

Besides the Barony of Corrie, comprising the modern parishes of Houtton and Corrie, they [the Corries; middle of 14th century] owned Keldwood in the modern Cumberland parish of Kirkandrews-upon-Esk, Comlongan, Ruthwell, the Barony of Newbie, the Barony of Stapleton, Robgill, and part of the parish of St. Patrick, now divided into Kirkpatrick-Fleming and Gretna, which includes the ruins of the ancient Redkirk or Rampatricks, and the celebrated Lochmaben Stone, where treaties were signed with the English.⁵

Again we hear of Ruthwell in 1411, when 'a charter of tailzie of the lands of "Ryvale" in Annandale . . . [was] granted by Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, to Sir Thomas Murray of Ryvale.'⁶

¹ Patrick and William were respectively the first and second sons of Sir William Murray, who is said to have been the first of his family. 'Whatever his descent, he married the sister of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and daughter of Sir Thomas Randolph, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, by Isobel, sister of King Robert Bruce' (*Scots Peerage* 1. 215).

² Sir Thomas Randolph became Earl of Moray in 1312 (*Scots Peerage* 6. 292), and died July 20, 1332 (p. 294).

³ *Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 215-16. The date is said to be between 1315 and 1332, perhaps about 1329, 'having regard to the witnesses' (p. 233); cf. Johnstone, p. 26.

⁴ Johnstone, pp. 4, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶ *Scots Peerage* 1. 213; Mansfield Charter-Chest. We are told (*op. cit.*, p. 217): 'Sir Thomas Murray, Knight, the eldest son [of Patrick], first

In 1438 Sir Charles Murray of Cockpool had seisin of the lands of Ryvel.¹ 'He also had two charters under the Great Seal of these lands and others, dated January 1449 and April 1452.'²

In 1454 Mariota, daughter of Sir Thomas Murray, Knight, resigned by deed all rights she may have had in the lands of Ryvel 'fratri suo Karolo de Moravia domino dictarum terrarum de Ryvel.'³

About the year 1474 Cuthbert Murray succeeded his father, and in that year had seisin of the lands of Ryvel, Howelset, and Arbigland.⁴

On Sept. 4, 1487, Cuthbert Murray is said to have mortified an annual rent for the souls of James III and John, Master of Maxwell, whom he had slain in the course of the feud with that family. Lord Maxwell, in his turn (presumably the heir), was bound to find a priest to sing for the souls of each of Cuthbert's friends in Ruthwell Church.⁵

In 1494 John Murray inherited Ryvel from his father, Cuthbert.

In 1494 John Murray had been returned heir to his father Cuthbert in the hereditary lands of Cockpool, Ryvel or Ruthwell, as well as of Rampatrick, or Redkirk, also part of the Corrie property.⁶

appears in the year 1405. . . . He was a witness to several charters by Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, in the early part of the fifteenth century, and from this Earl he obtained, upon his resignation, a charter of the lands and "tenements of Ryvale," in which he is described as "our beloved cousin, Sir Thomas of Murray, Knight."

¹ *Scots Peerage* 1. 218; Mansfield Charter-Chest.

² *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 22 April 1452, and *Exch. Rolls*, v. 670.

³ *Scots Peerage* 1. 218; Mansfield Charter-Chest.

⁴ *Scots Peerage* 1. 219; Mansfield Charter-Chest. Johnstone (pp. 39, 48) assumes that Cuthbert Murray received Ruthwell among the forfeited estates of the Corries, who had joined the rebellion of the Duke of Albany and Archibald, Earl of Douglas ('Bell-the-Cat') against James III of Scotland; he introduces the date of July 22, 1484, when the rebels made an unsuccessful raid upon Lochmaben, ten miles from Ruthwell. This theory does not appear to harmonize, however, with the facts adduced above.

⁵ *Scots Peerage* 1. 220; *Caerlaverock Book* 2. 446. Can 1487 stand for 1488, since James III was not slain till June 11, 1488? And why should Murray provide for masses for the king's soul, if Johnstone is right in calling him one of the leaders of the king's forces in repelling the raid of 1484?

⁶ Johnstone, p. 48 (cf. p. 70); *Scots Peerage* 1, 222 which, has the spelling 'Revel.'

On July 30, 1529, Cuthbert Murray of Cockpool had seisin of the lands of Cockpool, Revel, Arbigland, and others.¹

According to Chalmers,² the patronage³ of the church of Ruthwell continued with the Murrays of Cockpool⁴ and their successors the Viscounts of Stormont, and it now belongs to the Earl of Mansfield, who represents the Viscounts of Stormont.⁵

¹ *Scots Peerage* 1. 223; Mansfield Charter-Chest.

² *Caledonia*, 1890, 5. 191, note (p).

³ 'In 1406 [Chalmers 5. 191], Robert, the archbishop of Glasgow, collated Alexander Murray to the parsonage of Ruthwell, upon the presentation of Sir John Murray of Cockpool.'

⁴ Cockpool is about two miles from Ruthwell, and half a mile from Comloglan. Here, according to Chalmers (5. 191, note (o)), 'there was formerly a chapel, which was subordinate to the mother church of Ruthwell.'

⁵ In 1794 the church was thus described (*Stat. Acc.* 10. 220): 'It is a long building, remarkably narrow, and has a projecting aisle or wing joined to it, which was formerly the burial place of the Murrays of Cockpool.' (The longer part of the Ruthwell Cross lay in Murray's 'quire' in 1704; see my paper in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 372.) Henry Duncan, writing in 1834 (*New Stat. Acc.* 4. 235), says of the church: 'This place of worship was about a century ago a miserable building thatched with heath. When the present incumbent came into possession of his living (in 1799) it was scarcely in a better condition; for, though slated, it still remained without a ceiling, and was of most inconvenient dimensions, being within the walls 96 feet long, and only 14 broad. Soon after this period it underwent a thorough change, 30 feet having been taken off its length, and ten feet added to its breadth. . . . [It is] still, in point both of accommodation and of architecture, much inferior to some of the neighboring churches, and to the average state of these public buildings throughout the country.'

The cross was in the church at the time of Pennant's tour (1772). 'Soon after this [*New Stat. Acc.* 4. 224], it was removed to the church-yard,—the increasing population, and the improved taste of the times having rendered necessary better accommodations to the worshippers. In its new situation, it became more exposed to injury, and when the present incumbent acquired the living, he found it undergoing such rapid demolition, that he resolved to preserve it by transferring it to a place of greater security. This resolution was carried into effect in the summer of 1802, when it was erected in a garden which he had begun to form in the immediate neighborhood of the church-yard.' According to Henri Rousseau (*Annales de la Soc. d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 16. 69), the cross was thrown out in 1790, for the accommodation of workmen in the church. In 1887 the cross was re-erected within the church, where it now stands.

The pronunciation of Ruthwell at the present day is beyond all doubt Rivvel.¹ This is parallel to the modern pronunciation of Rievaulx as Rivers, no doubt by analogy for Rivvel. The earliest spelling of which we have knowledge is that of Bagimond's (properly Benemund's) Roll (1275), as transcribed by Habakkuk Bisset about the beginning of the 17th century. Though Bisset's copy was 'inconceivably inaccurate,' and the original has therefore 'suffered grievously in spelling' ² the form of our word in his transcription seems at least to establish the fact that the second syllable began with *v* (not *w*). The entry is ³ : *Rectoria de Rovell iiiij lib* (meaning that the church at Ruthwell was taxed for £4, the same as Dumfries, and one-half more than Peebles). Here Chalmers ⁴ (whatever his authority) spells Rieval, which would point directly to one of the earliest spellings of Rievaulx.⁵ Since little dependence can be placed upon Bisset's spelling, and since the next occurrence of the word (1331) is under the form Ryvel, it seems not improbable that the latter, or Ryvale (1411), Rieval, may best represent the earliest form.

The next occurrence of the word is in a list of churches assessed for the expenses of deputies to the Council of Trent, 1546. Here the *v* is again found, the word being spelled Ruvell,⁶ which is on the way to the modern spelling, Ruthwell.⁷

In 1690 we encounter the form Revel, from the pen of Bishop Nicolson,⁸ who repeats it in 1697 and 1704. This resembles the 12th and early 13th century spelling Revall for Rievaulx.⁹ However, Nicolson has the alternative forms, Rothwald (1690) and St. Ruel's (1697). The Ruel, if pronounced with a short *u*, seems like a variant

¹ Information from the present minister, Rev. J. L. Dinwiddie ; *Encyc. Brit.* 11th ed., 8. 664.

² Innes, in *Reg. Episc. Glasg.* 1. lix.

³ *Ibid.* 1. lxvi.

⁴ *Caledonia*, 1890, 5. 191.

⁵ See p. 135, above.

⁶ *Reg. Episc. Glasg.* 1. lxxv.

⁷ Possibly the obscuration of the original *ie*-sound (no doubt like *ee* in modern English *meet*) may be illustrated by the obsolete and dialectic *rother*, *ruther* (with short vowel) for Old English *hriðer*, which the *New Eng. Dict.* explains (after the shortening of the vowel) as due to the influence of the preceding *r*. The 16th or 17th century spellings, Rovell and Ruvell, in contrast with the Ryvel of 1331, seem only explicable on the theory of a short or shortened vowel.

⁸ Cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 370, 371, 374.

⁹ See above, p. 135.

of the Ruvell of 1546 (the 'St.' is of course meaningless) ; Rothwald may be an analogical formation, assimilated ¹ to Mousewald (formerly Muswald and Mosswald),² Torthorwald, and Tinwald, parishes adjoining that of Ruthwell. Less probable is Chalmers' opinion, that the new name might be derived from Old English *rīð*, rivulet, and *wald* (*weald*), forest. In any case, the form Rothwald has no further history (except for the reference by Keith, below), and only the first syllable of it is interesting, in its relation to the first element of Ruthwell ; both of these words, however, are of comparatively slight importance, since they lie outside the history of the spoken word, which runs from Ryvel to the modern pronunciation, Rivvel.

In 1726, Gordon³ has the form Ruthvel, with the old ending, *-vel*, continuing the ancient tradition. Keith, in his list of Scottish parishes,⁴ published in 1755, has a reference from Rivel to Ruthwald, but instead of Ruthwald has Ruthwell (the first instance of this form that I have found), and under the latter word adds, '*vulgo* Revel.' This goes back to Nicolson's form, while Ruthwell, when compared with Gordon's Ruthvel, seems to have borrowed the *w* of *-wald*, remaining a mere literary form, and having no connection with popular speech. A striking testimony to the persistence of the ancient form is afforded by Chalmers in 1824, when he says : 'In vulgar speech, and even in the chartularies, the name of Rithwald or Ruthwell has been abbreviated into Ryval and Ruval.'

The attempts to etymologize the comparatively modern Ruthwell did not cease with Chalmers. A modern writer makes this statement⁵ : 'A few miles from Annan and quite close to the shore is the town of Ruthwell, named from a chalybeate spring—the "Rood well" or well of the Cross, which still yields its healing waters under the name of the Brow well.' Hence, it appears, must be drawn the explanation in the current edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*⁶ : 'the "rood, or cross well."' The baselessness of this surmise may be seen if we recall that the Old English *rōd*, cross, must always have retained the *d*, evolving into modern English *rood* or *rod*.

¹ As Duncan conjectures (*New Stat. Acc.* 4. 218).

² *New Stat. Acc.* 4. 442.

³ *Itin. Sept.*, p. 160.

⁴ *Hist. Cat. of Scottish Bishops*, ed. 1824, p. 360.

⁵ Lansdale, *Scotland Historic and Romantic* 1. 318 ; cf. Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 236 : 'They put a shed over it [the Cross], and the place became known as Roodwell.'

⁶ 11th ed., 8. 664.

It appears most reasonable, then, to conclude that the earliest form (1331) of whose spelling we can be at all sure, Ryvel (unless, with Chalmers, we assume Bagimond's Roll (1275) to have had Rieval), is the lineal ancestor of the modern spoken Rivvel, and that all other forms represent either variations in the quality of the stressed vowel, or perversions due to a false etymology. If such is the case, it seems most natural to assume a connection between the name Ryvel (Ryvale) in Scotland and the name Ry(e)vall (Rievalle, Rivall, Revall), representing the Yorkshire Rievaulx; and such an assumption we have seen to be plausible, in the light of the influence which that famous abbey had in Scotland, and of the connection maintained between Yorkshire and Annandale through the family of Bruce.

5. THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF FLEURY (ST. BENOÎT-SUR-LOIRE)

According to Keith-Spottiswoode,¹ three monasteries in Scotland were related to Fleury. These were Coldingham, Dunfermline, and Urquhart²; but I can find no confirmation of this statement.

Indications of a relation between the Ruthwell Cross and the abbey church of St. Benoît may perhaps be found in the similarities between the sculptured Flight into Egypt and Visitation of the former and those of the latter.³

An influence of the sculptures of St. Benoît upon English work might be conjectured from the relations of that monastery with England in the 10th century.⁴ At the reform of English monasticism by Dunstan and Æthelwold, it became important to insist upon the stricter Benedictine rule, as it was held and practised by its authentic representatives; and what monastery more fit to lay down the pure law than that where the bones of the founder reposed, after they had been brought northward from Monte Cassino? Thus Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, sent his nephew, Oswald, to the abbey where he himself had passed some time. After Oswald's return, he set out for Rome with Oskytel, Archbishop of York, but 'was unable to pass by the walls of Fleury,' where he lingered. Thence he was recalled by the urgent solicitations of Oskytel (ca. 961), to aid in the introduction of a stricter form of discipline into the northern

¹ *Hist. Cat. of the Scottish Bishops*, pp. 401 ff.

² Priory of Dunfermline, ca. 1130 (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 350).

³ See above, pp. 49, 52.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 130, note 6 from preceding page.

province.¹ Æthelwold is said to have been the first to introduce this stricter rule into England at the monastery of Abingdon, having sent Osgar, a monk of Glastonbury, to Fleury (St. Benoît) for the purpose.² Among the scholars of the period, the name of Abbo, who went for a time from Fleury to England, is held in honor. At times the monastery school was attended by as many as five thousand students, each of whom was to give two manuscripts to the library as his fee ; and contributions to the library were required from every dependent monastery.³

A link between Fleury and the English royal house is found in the person of Hugh of Fleury (d. 1108), who dedicated a history of the church to Countess Adela,⁴ a history of the recent French kings to Matilda, daughter of Henry I, and his treatise, *De Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate*, to King Henry himself.⁵ It is thus evident that Fleury must have been well within King David's ken, and frequently visited by Englishmen during his reign.

6. THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF NORTHERN ITALY

The sculptures of a certain group of churches in northern Italy form so interesting a parallel to those on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses as to suggest a possible influence from that quarter. That such an influence—either direct or through the mediation of French sculptors—is not inherently impossible, is indicated by the bonds

¹ Raine, *Archbishops of York* 1. 118-121 ; cf. *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 16. 375. Raine (*op. cit.*, p. 121) tells of twelve monks from Fleury whom Oswald established at Westbury under the charge of Germanus ; ' the sight of that house was so gratifying to the king that he directed more than forty monasteries to be constructed after the same model.' Sackur says (*Neues Archiv* 16. 375) that the reformation of the English monasteries by Dunstan emanated from Fleury. A prose calendar of the Anglo-Saxon church was found at Fleury, and called *Calendarium Floriacense* (Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 65).

² *Chron. de Abingdon* 1. 129 ; Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, p. 190 ; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 18. 38.

³ Wetzer and Welter, *Kirchenlexikon*, s. v. *Fleury*.

⁴ See p. 130, above.

⁵ Sackur (*op. cit.*, p. 375) considers that the relations between Fleury and England must have been continuous from after the time of Dunstan's reform ; it may be noted that Hugh was a convinced royalist, and that Fleury stood under the direct patronage of the King of France, being exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Orléans (*op. cit.*, pp. 370 ff.).

formed between Italy and other countries of Europe during the Middle Ages by the presence of Transalpine monks in the monasteries of northern Italy.¹

The sculptors whose work we have to consider were Wiligelmus and Niccolò, or William and Nicholas ; and their activities extended over the early part of the 12th century.² Their first notable work was done under the direction of the architect Lanfranc on the cathedral of Modena, which was consecrated in 1106. They worked together at Cremona, probably before 1114, at Nonantola before 1117, and at Piacenza soon after 1122. About 1135 they seem to have been associated at Ferrara, where William was perhaps chiefly responsible for the general design, and Nicholas for the details ; then again on the façade of San Zeno, at Verona, completed in 1139, where most of the carving seems to have been done by Nicholas.³

These two artists differed more or less in style, that of William being the severer and more archaic ; his figures angular and rectilinear, with large, long noses, and stiff locks of hair ; and the general effect often what Venturi describes as grandiose. Nicholas was simpler, more youthful in spirit, more *bourgeois* and less archaic, and exhibited greater variety.⁴ The faces of his personages are broad and squat, and they are shorter of stature, in contradistinction to the figures of William.⁵

Of the origins of these two men nothing is known, but there has been speculation concerning the possibly Germanic provenience of William. However this be, their works are clearly recognizable as forming a distinct group, resembling rather the art of France than that of central and southern Italy⁶ ; and, what is not less remarkable, these sculptures are earlier than those in France which they most resemble, so that France may really have been the debtor.

¹ Cf. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 113-4, who says that strangers were more numerous than Italians in certain monasteries of northern Italy in the 11th century—that, for example, of 161 priests nominated in 1037 by Olderico, Bishop of Brescia, there were only 25 who were not either German or French.

² For a somewhat detailed discussion of their activities, see Venturi 3. 150-197 ; and cf. Venturi 3. 120 ; Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 1. 221 ; 2. 121 ; Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1². 696-700.

³ Venturi 3. 186.

⁴ Venturi 3. 160, 170, 172.

⁵ Venturi 3. 160 ; cf. p. 158.

⁶ Michel 1². 697.

Quelques détails, dans un ensemble d'architecture tout italienne, rappellent étrangement l'art du Nord. . . . Ou bien l'artiste qui a sculpté les prophètes de Ferrare a-t-il eu connaissance des statues-colonnes de Saint-Denis et de Chartres ? . . . Une inscription, gravée sur le portail de Ferrare et dont le second vers est mutilé paraît donner pour les sculptures la date de 1135. Si les portails de Vérone et de Ferrare appartiennent réellement à la première moitié du XII^e siècle, ils sont antérieurs au portail vieux de Chartres, et il faut admettre que Nicola ait enrichi la sculpture monumentale de thèmes que les sculpteurs français ne reprendront qu'après lui. . . . Il est permis de se demander si des sculpteurs tels que . . . maître Nicola, l'auteur du portail de San Zeno à Vérone, n'ont pas pu être employés dans le Midi de la France et n'y ont pas exercé quelque influence. Les dates de 1133, pour le cloître d'Aoste, et de 1135, pour le portail de Ferrare, si elles sont admises, obligent l'histoire à reconnaître que l'Italie du Nord a joué un rôle prépondérant et indépendant, à côté de la France, dans l'événement capital qui se manifeste au commencement du XII^e siècle : la création d'une sculpture monumentale à sujets religieux.¹

However this may be, the resemblances, not only to French art, but to that of the crosses under consideration, are striking. The panels of the door-jamb at Nonantola, already referred to as the work of William,² are similar in general plan and in many details³ to those of the Ruthwell Cross ; while such bas-reliefs as those of the shoemakers and the knife-grinder⁴ in the cathedral of Piacenza, or the hunting-scene on the façade of San Zeno at Verona,⁵ seem natural precursors of the falconer on the Bewcastle Cross.

Sculptors like William and Nicholas, or at least certain of their disciples or associates, might conceivably have been induced to cross the Alps, and carry to France, if not to Scotland, the tradition and manner of these sculptures of northern Italy. It is certainly noteworthy, in any case, that the sculptures of our Northern crosses find Italian parallels in work that is undoubtedly of the early 12th century.

¹ Michel 1^a. 696-700.

² See p. 124.

³ Cf. Venturi 3. 169 (illustration).

⁴ Venturi 3. 176-7; cf. p. 125, above.

⁵ Venturi 3. 194; cf. p. 70. above.

CONCLUSION

At the close of this inquiry, we may well endeavor to summarize its results. The forms of the runic letters do not require an early date, and the fact that no Scandinavian memorial inscriptions antedate 900, and that runic inscriptions occur in England as late as the 12th century, assuredly favors a date much later than the 7th century (see pp. 31–32). The language of the Ruthwell inscription in runes indicates a date not earlier than the 10th century (see pp. 33–37). The nearest parallels to the runic *Gessus Kristus* of the Bewcastle Cross belong to the end of the 13th century (see p. 37). The word *æft* seems to indicate a date later than 1050 (see pp. 38–40). *Cynnburug* points to the 10th century at earliest (see pp. 43–44). The metrical peculiarities of the poetical inscription on the Ruthwell Cross show that it was a rather clumsy adaptation of certain lines of *The Dream of the Rood* (see p. 40). The word *Alc tripu*, if it actually occurs on the Bewcastle Cross, is the name of a woman rather than of a man, is rather Norse than English, and therefore indicates a date subsequent to the Norse conquest of the Western Isles (see pp. 42–43). The most peculiar letters of the Latin inscriptions have forms which elsewhere occur in inscriptions of the 12th century (see pp. 44–45).

The figure-sculpture points uniformly to the 11th and 12th centuries, with a general preponderance in favor of the 12th (see pp. 45–71).

In the decorative sculpture, the vine occurs over too long a period to furnish the best means of determining the date of our crosses; but Rivoira, the latest expert to examine the Ruthwell carving, favors a period about 1100–1150 (see pp. 14, 78). The chequers indicate the 12th century (see pp. 83–86), the Celtic interlacings the 11th or 12th (see pp. 86–89), and the sundial the late 11th or 12th century see pp. 89–90).

Accordingly, a date not far from 1150 would perhaps harmonize all the indications better than any other that could be named. Upon this supposition, it remains to discover, if possible, what agency might be credited with the erection of the two crosses. One might think of a great prelate, a great abbey, a religious noble, or a religious king. The greatest prelate of the North in those times was undoubt-

edly Archbishop Thurstan¹ of York ; but his authority did not reach so far, he was fully occupied elsewhere, and he died in 1140. The nearest great abbeys were those that had been founded under the influence of King David of Scotland, and none of these had in that century a prepotent abbot known to history. The religious nobles of the surrounding territory were vassals or friends of the same David. Of English kings there were Henry I (1100–1135) and Stephen (1135–1154). Henry was no religious devotee, and Stephen's character excludes him from consideration ; besides, neither would have been recognized as lord and master on the Border. David, on the contrary, was prince and king over this region for forty-six years (1107–1153) ; he was the founder of several monasteries, and a patron of others, like Hexham and Holmcultram ; and his heart was bound up in extending Christianity and civilization in his dominions by every possible means.² Moreover, by his influence

¹ See p. 120.

² That this task required all his powers, that his successors were in general unequal or indisposed to it, and that the temper of the Borderers, at least, was refractory and untamable enough, is clear from history. It has been shown (pp. 125 ff.) that David was under the necessity of importing monks and artificers from France ; of his immediate successors, Malcolm IV (1154–1165) died young, and William the Lion (1165–1214) has almost no endowment save the foundation of the abbey of Arbroath to his credit. As to the impression produced by David's religious establishments on his subjects, we have various modern testimonies. Thus Veitch (*Hist. and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, p. 171) : ' The Lowland Scot was not, during the middle ages, a very devoted churchman, nor were the religious houses popular, or of high repute in the district.' Elsewhere we are told (*New Stat. Acc.* 3. 308–9) : ' It does not appear from the records of the times that the monastery of Kelso ever proved of such advantage to border civilization as its founder anticipated. . . . Yet for this, perhaps, the monks are not to be blamed, so much as the untowardness of the times in which their lot was cast. There never seems to have existed on the border that respect for religious houses, which in other places rendered them safer repositories for literary treasures than the fortresses of kings. Nor do the monks ever seem to have gained that ascendancy over the popular mind, which alone could cause the monastery to act as a centre and source of civilization to the surrounding country.' And the remark of Brown is significant (*Hist. Scot.* 1. 96) : ' From the first the people resented the burdens imposed on them for the support of an alien clergy ; and when another religious revolution came their conduct betrayed what little affection they had inherited towards the church established by David.'

On the lawlessness and wickedness of the region about Bewcastle, see Nanson, *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* 3. 228; *Victoria Hist.*

at the English court, and his direct relations with France, he was in a position to command the services of accomplished architects and sculptors, as is clearly shown by the character of the monastic buildings erected under his rule ; this has been duly set forth and illustrated in the latter part of our study (pp. 115 ff.), and hence need not be further rehearsed here.

In the absence of more explicit and unequivocal testimony than we have been able to adduce, we may not be warranted in the absolute assertion that David is responsible for the existence of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses ; but when we think of him as the son of the saintly Margaret, the brother-in-law of the scholar-king Henry I, the introducer of Norman piety and skill into Scotland, the fervent adorer of the cross, the tamer of Border barbarism, the man most feared by the desperate, and most beloved by the good, of any who bore rule in English or Scottish Cumbria in the Middle Ages, we can

Cumb. 2. 78, 452 ; Ferguson, *Hist. Cumb.*, pp. 2, 3 ; *Surtees Soc. Pub.* 68. 437-41, 443, 447, 463-4 ; Scott, *Guy Mannering*, chaps. 22, 23, 24. On the desolateness of the region, see Hutchinson, *Hist. of the County of Cumberland* 1. 36, 76 ; *Archæologia* 14. 117 ; Denton, quoted by Nanson, *op. cit.*, p. 227 ; *Surtees Soc. Pub.* 68. lxvii ; on its spoliation by wars (in 1298, etc.), and consequent decay, Hutchinson, *op. cit.* 1. 78. In 1881 Bewcastle had 20 persons to the square mile, while the whole of Cumberland had 165, and England and Wales 447 ; in 1901 the figures were 16, 176, and 558 respectively. For the state of the borderland between Cumberland and Dumfriesshire, in the vicinity of Ruthwell, before 1603, see Johnstone, *Hist. Fam. Dumfriesshire*, pp. 1-2.

On the other hand, with reference to southern Scotland, and the shores of the Solway in particular, see Ruskin, *Præterita* 4. 69, 70, 72, 74 : 'It has . . . been . . . only within the last five or six years that I have fully understood the power, not on Sir Walter's mind merely, but on the character of all good Scotchmen, (much more, good Scotchwomen,) of the two lines of coast from Holy Island to Edinburgh, and from Annan to the Mull of Galloway. Between them, if the reader will glance at any old map which gives rivers and mountains, . . . he will find that all the highest intellectual and moral powers of Scotland were developed, from the days of the Douglasses at Lochmaben, to those of Scott in Edinburgh, — Burns in Ayr, — and Carlyle at Ecclefechan, by the *pastoral* country, everywhere habitable, but only by hardihood under suffering, and patience in poverty ; defending themselves always against the northern Pictish war of the Highlands, and the southern, of the English Edwards and Percys, in the days when whatever was loveliest and best of the Catholic religion haunted still the — then *not* ruins, — of Melrose, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Kelso, Dunblane, Dundrennan, New Abbey of Dumfries, and, above all, the most

hardly fail to see that the evidence which points to the middle of the 12th century as the time when our crosses were carved receives an added confirmation from the circumstance that this was precisely the period when the rule of David was at its height.

ancient Cave of Whithorn,—the Candida Casa of St. Ninian. . . . It was only . . . since what became practically my farewell journey in Italy in 1882, that I recovered the train of old associations by re-visiting Tweed-side, from Coldstream up to Ashestiel; and the Solway shores from Dumfries to Whithorn; and while what knowledge I had of southern and foreign history then arranged itself for final review, it seemed to me that this space of low mountain ground, with the eternal sublimity of its rocky seashores, of its stormy seas and dangerous sands, its strange and mighty crags, Ailsa and the Bass, and its pathless moorlands, haunted by the driving cloud, had been of more import in the true world's history than all the lovely countries of the South, except only Palestine. . . . *Guy Mannering*, *Redgauntlet*, a great part of *Waverley*, and the beautiful close of *The Abbot*, pass on the two coasts of Solway. The entire power of *Old Mortality* rises out of them. . . . For myself, the impressions of the Solway sands are a part of the greatest teaching that ever I received during the joy of youth.'

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Dates of Crosses, opinions concerning (page-numbers in parenthesis):

Ruthwell Cross:

7th, 8th, or 9th century: Kemble (7), Brooke (12; runes possibly after 1066).

7th or 8th century: Sweet (9), Bradley (11; cf. 15).

7th century: Haigh (7), Murray? (9), Black? (10), Ker? (15).

early: Brandl (14).

ca. 665: Browne (9, 11).

ca. 670: Prior and Gardner (13); somewhat after 670: Collingwood (13).

ca. 680: Stephens (8).

before 685: Browne (12).

end of 7th century: Hammerich (9), Greenwell (12).

ca. 700: Vigfusson and Powell (9), Vietor (10), Lethaby (15).

700-750: Brooke (12).

8th century: Paues? (15).

before 740: Bülbring (14).

before 750: Sweet (10), Bugge (11).

ca. 750: Skeat (15).

764-794: Dietrich (8).

ca. 800: Vigfusson and Powell (9).

9th century: Rousseau (13).

after 9th century: M. Chalmers (7).

10th century: Smith (15).

after 10th century: Nicolson (6).

ca. 1000: Müller (9).

after 1000 (?): Hickes (7).

11th century: Stokes (10).

1100-1150: Rivoira (14, 15, 78).

ca. 1150: Enlart (14).

not 7th century: Allen (11).

late: Anderson (12).

Newcastle Cross:

7th century: Haigh (8), Murray? (9).

ca. 665: Haigh (7), Browne (9).

ca. 670: Maughan (7), Stephens (8), Bradley (10), Calverley (11), Browne (12), Collingwood (12, 13), Prior and Gardner (13), Enlart? (14), Paues (15).

end of 7th century: Greenwell (12).

ca. 700: Vietor, (10, 12), Lethaby (15). before 750: Sweet (10).

764-794: Dietrich (8).

9th, 10th, or 11th century: Allen (10; cf. 11).

after 900: Smith, G. (7).

11th century: Stokes (10).

1100-1150: Rivoira (15).

ca. 1150: Enlart? (14).

late: Sievers (11, 31).

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